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Art. I.—*A Description of the Mekranee-Beloochee Dialect.*

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Presented October 9th, 1874.

The Mekranee-Beloochee is the dialect spoken by the people living in the eastern and southern parts of Beloochistan. Its limits on the seacoast are the Malān mountains on the east, and a line drawn about fifty miles west of Charbar on the west. Inland it is spoken generally over the large provinces of Kej, Kolánch, and Kolwáh, with the adjacent districts.

The dialect spoken over the whole of this tract varies very slightly, and the people of any one district are intelligible to people of the others. There are, however, innumerable small variations in the words used in every district, and people are often unacquainted with words in common use amongst people living forty or fifty miles distant.

In the districts of Baho and Dushtyári, N.W. of Gwádur, the country is inhabited by Judgalls (Sindee tribes settled in Mekran), and the language of these districts is consequently a dialect of Sindee. The dialect spoken by the Máyds (*med* = a fisherman), inhabiting the coast villages of Ormára, Pusnee, and Gwádur, differs slightly from that spoken by the people living in the jungle.

The dialect which I have more particularly chosen to describe is that spoken by the country people living east of Gwádur, as in their dialect the words adopted from the Persian are used without many of the corruptions common to the people about Gwádur and to the westward. In the vocabularies the pronunciation used east of Gwádur will be found in the first place. The Western forms, where differing, are given after the Eastern form.

From about fifty miles west of Charbar a different dialect commences to be spoken. This is almost unintelligible to the people living to the east, and appears to resemble Persian much more closely than the Gwádur dialect: Persian words are largely introduced without alteration, but the construction still retains the Beloochee character. In this district Persian commences to be to a certain extent current.

The Mekranee-Beloochee appears to be a dialect of Persian mixed up with a great many words of Indian origin, which have probably been introduced by the Judgalls.

It appears to have little connection with the modern Persian, many of the words derived from the latter language being words now obsolete or very rarely heard. One of the most notable features in Beloochee is the retention of the "*majhūl*" sounds of و and ي, which have been entirely discarded by the modern Persians.

The words of Indian origin are principally nouns, but a few of the verbs in very common use are of undoubtedly Indian origin, as *ladaga* to load, *lagaga* to strike, and *chāraga* to look. Amongst the adverbs also are *hanīn* now, *idā* here, *udā* there, and *kadīn* when.

The principal changes undergone by Persian words in their introduction into Beloochee are:—

(I.) Substitution of *g* for the silent *h*.

(II.) The softening of all throat sounds as *kh* (خ) into *k* or *h*, *gh* (غ) into *g*.

(III.) The alteration of the sound of the long *alif* from the sound of *a* in *fall* to that of *a* in *arch*.

(IV.) The substitution of *g* or *gw* for *b*, as *gwāt* for *bād*, *gesh* for *besh*, *gwāzi* for *bāzi*, *gwān* for *bāng*.

(V.) Substitution of *w* for *khw* (خو) as *wāb* for *khwāb*, *wat* for *khud*, *wānaga* for *khwāndan*, *waraga* for *khūrdan*.

(VI.) Substitution of *ī* for *o* or *ū*, as *dīr* for *dūr*, *bīta* for *būda*, &c. These words may, however, generally be pronounced either with *o*, *ū*, or *ī*. The substitution of *ī* for *o* or *ū* is peculiar to the western part of Mekran.

(VII.) A general disposition may be noticed to end all words in *k* or *g*.

I have endeavoured in the Beloochee-English vocabulary to trace as far as possible the origin of the Beloochee words, but in Mekrán so few books are available for reference, that I have failed to find the origin of many words which with greater facilities might doubtless be traced to the languages of the neighbouring countries.

In Beloochee there are no sounds foreign to the English language. In a few Sindee words the ڙ is heard, but as a rule it is sounded as an English *r*.

Pronunciation.

In representing Beloochee words I have used English letters on the following system:—

a	sounded as	*a*	in *America* or *u* in *but*.
e	do.	*e*	they, fête.
i	do.	*i*	pin.
o	do.	*o*	pole, so.
u	do.	*u*	pull.
ā	do.	*a*	father (never as *a* in *full*).
ī	do.	*i*	police.
ū	do.	*u*	rule.
ai	do.	*ai*	aisle.
au	do.	*ou*	our.

ṅ, which occurs mostly in syllables added to nouns and verbs to form inflections, is not a perfectly nasal sound, but more like an indistinct pronunciation of the English *n*. When preceding a vowel it is sounded as the English *n*.

g	as	*g*	in go.
ch	as	*ch*	in church.
kh	as	*ch*	in loch, or German *ch* in Buch.

Other consonants are sounded as in English.

SUBSTANTIVES.

Substantives have only one inflection in the singular for the genitive, dative, and accusative cases, viz. *a* added to the nominative case. The nom. plural is formed by adding *ān* to the nom. singular; and the gen., dat., and acc. plural are formed by adding *a* to the nom. plural. For the dat. and acc. cases *ārā* is sometimes added instead of *a*.

It would appear at first sight that some confusion must arise from gen., dat., and acc. cases being alike, but in practise it presents very little difficulty.

There may be said to be no gender in Beloochee. Female animals have either different names, as *pāchin* a male goat, and *buz*, a female goat; or their names are formed by prefixing the adjective *mādag* (female) to the name of the male, as *gok*, a bull, *mādagin gok*, a cow. The latter form is rare, as almost every animal has a separate name for the female.

A noun in the gen. case is placed before the noun signifying the thing possessed, instead of after it as in Persian, as *marduma dast*, a man's hand.

The inflections of the Beloochee substantives, it will be seen, are very different from those of the Persian. The termination *rā* of the dat. and acc. is rarely used; and of the two forms of the plural, viz. *ān* and *hā*, only *ān* is retained.

As in Persian the singular is very often used with a plural signification.

A noun of agency is formed from some verbs by the addition of *ūk* to the root, *e.g.*

buyer or taker,	zīrūk.
seller,	bahokanūk.
speaker,	gwashūk.
giver,	deūk.
goer,	roūk.

The latter word is applied as an adjective to a swift camel.

The following is the mode of declension of a Beloochee substantive:—

Singular.

Nom.	mardum,	a man.
Gen.	mardum-a,	of a man.
Dat.	mardum-a, ā, ārā,	at, to, or for a man.
Acc.	mardum-a, ā, ārā,	a man.

Plural.

Nom.	mardum-ān,	men.
Gen.	mardum-āna,	of men.
Dat.	mardum-āna, ānā, ānārā,	at, to, or for men.
Acc.	mardum-āna, ānā, ānārā,	men.

The vocative and ablative cases are formed by *ai*, O, for the former, and *ash*, from, with, or by, for the latter.

ADJECTIVES.

The adjective in Beloochee takes only one inflection, viz. the addition of *iṅ*, which is added when an adjective is used to qualify a substantive.

Adjectives precede the substantives they qualify, instead of following them as in Persian, *e.g.*, *shariṅ roch*, a fine day.

When an adjective precedes a substantive beginning with a vowel, the *ṅ* of the termination loses its nasal sound.

The comparative degree is formed by adding *tar* to the positive, except *mazan*, great, and *kasān*, small, which have irregular comparatives, viz. *mastar* and *kastar*.

There is no superlative degree, but one may be formed as in Hindustani, *e.g.*, *e ash drustān shartar iṅ*. This is the best. Literally :—This is better than all.

In such a sentence as this a Belooch usually omits the word *ash*.

The possessive adjectives are the gen. cases of the pronouns.

Some adjectives are formed from nouns by adding *ig*—

as *nugrāig*, silvern, from *nugra*, silver.
tilāig, golden, from *tila*, gold.
dārig, wooden, from *dār*, wood.
Mohammedig, belonging to Mohammed.

as	*e kārch nugrāig iṅ*,	This knife is silvern.
	e nugrāigiṅ kārch iṅ,	This is a silver knife.
	e Mohammadig iṅ,	This is Mohammed's.

PRONOUNS.

The pronouns in Beloochee appear to follow the Persian much closer than most other parts of speech.

The principal variation to be noted is that the personal pronouns cannot be suffixed. The only suffix used is *i* or *ish* for the accusative case of the demonstrative pronouns, *e.g.*—

Man abarāni or *man abarānish*, I will take it away.
Bili, Let it alone.

The pronouns are declined as follows :—

Personal Pronouns.

Man, I.

Sing.	*Plur.*
Nom. man, I.	amā, mā, we.
Gen. mani, of me, my.	amāi, māi, of us, our.
Dat. & Acc. mana, me, to me.	amārā, mārā, us, to us.

To, tau, Thou.

Nom. to, tau, thou.	shumā, you.
G. tai, of thee, thy.	shumāi, of you, your.
D. & A. turā, to thee, thee.	shumārā, to you, you.

In addressing one person it is customary to use the singular form of "to."

Ā, he, she, or it.

N. ā, he, she, it.	ā, āān, āhān, they.
G. aii, of him, his, &c.	ai-i, āāni, āhāni, of them, their.
D. & A. airā, aia, to him, him, &c.	airā, aia, āānrā, āhānrā, to them, them.

The plural forms *āān* and *āhān* are rarely used, the singular being generally used for the plural.

Demonstrative.

E or *Esh*, This.

N. e, esh, this.	eshān, these.
G. eshi, of this.	eshāni, of these.
D. & A. eshia, eshirā, to this, this	eshānrā, eshāna, to these, these.

Ā, That.

Declined as *ā*, he, she or it, *q v.*

Ham may be prefixed to these pronouns to give the sense of *this very* or *that very*. This does not appear to be allowable with any case but the nominative—

e.g. *Hame drāch*, this very tree.

When answering questions *ham* is almost invariably prefixed.

e.g. Which is the man? Kujān mardum iń.
This is he. Hamesh iń.

Ham is also very frequently prefixed to pronouns when the sense of *very* does not appear to be implied.

The demonstrative pronouns are not declined when used to qualify substantives; when used as substantives they take above deflections, *e.g.*—

This man's house,	E marduma log.
These people's houses,	E mardumāna logān.
The fastening of this is broken,	Eshi band prushtag iń.
These are large,	Eshān mazan ań.

Reflective.

Wat, self, probably from Persian *khud*.

Sing.	*Plural.*
N. wat, self.	Same as singular.
G. wati, of self.	
D. & A. wata, to self, self.	

Wat is used instead of the possessive pronouns when preceded by a personal pronoun of the same person.

e.g., I am going to my house, *Man wati loga 'roań.*

Man wat, I myself.

Sing.	*Plur.*
N. man wat, I myself.	amā wat, we ourselves.
G. mani wati, of myself.	amāi wati, of ourselves.
D. & A. mani wata, to myself, myself.	amāi wata, to ourselves, ourselves.

To wat, thou thyself, and *ā wat*, he himself, declined in same manner as *man wat*.

Interrogative.

Kai, Who?

Sing.	*Plur.*
N. kai, who?	Same as singular.
G. kai-i, whose?	
D. & A. kairā, kain, to whom? whom?	

Kujān, kudān, Which?

N. kujān, which?	Plural same as singular.
G. kujāni, of which?	
D. & A. kujānrā, kujāna, to which? which?	

Che, What.

N. che, what?	Plural same as singular.
G. chea, of what?	
D. & A. chea, to what? what?	

Relative and Correlative.

Rel. *ā keh,* he who, whoever.	Correl. *hamā,* that same.
e.g. He who is wise speaks little.	ā keh akalwand iṅ, hamā kam agwashīt.
Rel. *hanch,* whatever.	Correl. *hancho,* that same.
e.g., Whatever I say, you do.	Hanch keh man agwashīṅ hancho pekan.
Rel. *e keh,* this which.	Correl. *hamesh, hame,* this same.
e.g., This which I have is good.	E keh go man iṅ hame shar iṅ.

The correlatives are very often omitted entirely.

Suffixes.

The suffix *i* or *ish* is often used for *eshia* or *eshirā,*

e. g., Shall I take this away? Man eshia 'barāṅ,
or Man abarāni,
or Man abarānish,

I will give this to you, Man turā deīnish.

These suffixes appear to be only added to the verb, and not to nouns as in Persian.

Possessives.

The possessive pronouns are formed by adding *g* to the gen. case of the other pronouns, as *manig,* mine, *taiig,* thine, *aiig,* his, *amāig,* ours, *shumāig,* yours, *āānig,* theirs, *kaiig,* whose, as—

e petī manig iṅ, this box is mine.

For the possessive adjectives my, thy, &c., the gen. case of the pronouns is used, as—

E mani petī iṅ, this is my box.

VERBS.

The Beloochee verbs are extremely irregular, and it is impossible to reduce them to any system of conjugations.

The irregularities, however, are very rarely in anything but the formation of the preterite tense. I have given a table of the most irregular, and in the vocabulary I have given the aorist, preterite, and imperative of each verb.

It will be noticed that the irregularities are mostly derived from the original Persian verbs *janaga, āraga, waraga, deaga,* &c.

The principal peculiarities of the Beloochee verb are:—

(I.) There is no distinction between the present and future tenses, both being represented by one tense which I have called the *Aorist.* This does not appear to give rise to any difficulty in actual practice, as the context generally shows whether the verb should be in the present or future sense.

(II.) That part of the verb ending in *aga,* which appears to be the nearest approach to an infinitive, is of very rare occurrence, *keh* with the aorist generally taking its place; *e. g.*—

Man alotiṅ keh man aroaṅ, I want to go, for *Man alotiṅ roaga.*

This resembles the Persian *Man mik͟hwāham berawam.*

(III.) Almost entire disuse of any compound tenses.

(IV.) Prefixing *a* to aorist tense.

(*Vide* Remarks.)

Root.—The root is formed from the infinitive by cutting off *aga.*

In those verbs in which the *aga* of the infinitive is preceded by *ch* or *j*, those letters are changed to *tk* or *ht* in the root, as *dochaga,* root *dotk* or *doht.*

Verbs coming under this head are mostly those derived from Persian verbs ending in *k͟htan,* and which change the *kht* into *z* in the aorist tense.

Infinitive, ending in *aga.* This part of the verb, although it bears no resemblance to the Persian infinitive, yet appears to have the exact meaning of an infinitive. It is, however, rarely used. From it is

formed by changing *aga* into *agī* an adjective signifying to be ——, fit to be ——, about to ——, or, to be——able :—

> *e.g.*, *gwashagī*, to be said, *i.e.* ought to be said, fit to be said; about to say, or speakable; *roagi*, about to go, or ought to go; *man roagī uṅ*, I am about to go, I am to go.

This corresponds very closely with the Persian words *guftanī*, *raftanī*, &c., which are formed by adding *ī* to the infinitive.

Aorist—Formed by prefixing *a* and adding various personal terminations to the root.

This tense has present, future, and potential significations, *e.g.*, *Man agwashiṅ*, I am speaking, I shall speak, or I may speak.

When preceded by a word ending in a short vowel, the aorist usually loses its *a* prefixed.

(*Vide* REMARKS.)

Preterite.—This is formed from the root generally by the addition of *ta* or *ita*, and has no variation for the three persons, singular and plural. It is evidently the preterite participle of the Persian verb.

This tense is not in such common use as the Perfect.

The Preterite has often an abbreviated form, as *kū* for *kurta*, *gū* for *gwashta*, *dī* for *dīta*, and in conversation the final *a* is very frequently omitted.

Perfect.—This tense is formed by the Preterite Participle with various personal terminations added.

There appears to be no difference in the meaning of this tense and the preceding. It is perhaps applied more to past and completed actions.

Imperative.—The 2nd pers. sing. is formed by prefixing *be* or *pe* to the root. The 2nd pers. plural is formed by adding *ī* or *īd* to the 2nd pers. sing.

Some verbs, instead of taking *be* or *pe*, require the *b* to be followed by the first vowel in the root, as *boro*, *bubur*, *bigir*.

The first and third persons are formed by compounds with the verb, "*liagī*." See "Let."

The prefix *be* is often omitted. In the vocabulary the usual form of the imperative is given.

Preterite Participle.—Formed by adding *tag* to the root.

Pluperfect.—This tense is very rarely used. It is formed by the Pret. Part. with the first form of the Preterite of the verb to be:

e.g., *Man shutag atuṅ*, I had gone. *Harwahdī keh to hamudā ātkag ate man shutag atuṅ ashudā.* When you arrived there I had gone from there.

Future Perfect.—This tense, like the last, is of very rare occurrence. It is formed by the preterite participle with the future of the verb *to be* :—

Man rastag abiṅ, I shall have arrived. *Harwahdī keh to hamudā rase man ham hamudā rastag abiṅ*, When you arrive there I also shall have arrived there. This would generally be expressed by a Belooch *Harwahdī keh to hamudā rase man ham akai-iṅ.*

Negatives.—In the aorist the prefix *a* disappears after *na*, as *man na 'roan*, I won't go.

In the verbs *aiaga, āraga* and *līaga* the form of the aorist without *k* is always used in negative sentences: *e.g.*, *man na ārin*, I will not bring it.

The negative form of the imperative is formed by prefixing *ma* and cutting off the prefix *be* or *pe*, as *maro*, don't go, *makan*, don't do.

Potential, agār, if, is used with the aorist: *e.g.*, *agār akait*, if he come, *agār arot*, if he go.

There is a method of forming the potential by prefixing *be, bo*, &c., to the aorist: *e.g.*, *agār beaiat*, if he come, *agār borot*, if he go.

Interrogatives.—Interrogation is expressed by a difference of accent in the past tenses; but in the aorist *be* is often prefixed and the *a* of the aorist cut off. Those verbs which require the *b* of the prefix of the imperative to be followed by the first vowel of the root, take the same prefix to the aorist as to the imperative—

Man pekanaṅ? Shall I do it?
Man boroaṅ? Shall I go?

Can.—There appears to be no verb answering to the Persian *tawānistan*. *Can* is expressed in Beloochee by using the preterite tense of the

verb with the aorist of the verb *kanaga.* The verb *kanaga* may perhaps be considered to have the meaning of *to be able,* in which case the following sentences correspond very closely with the Persian :—

I can go, *Man shuta 'kanañ ;* Persian—*Man mitawānam raft.*

I cannot lift it, *Man chis kurta na 'kananish.*

It is also expressed by the past tense with the future of the verb *to be.*

I cannot fasten this, *E basta nabīt.* Literally :—It cannot, or will not, be fastened.

Could.—This is expressed by the preterite tense of the verb with the preterite of the verb *kanaga.* The abbreviated form of the latter, viz., *kū,* is generally used. If the first verb is formed by a compound of the verb *kanaga, kū* is invariably used. I could not lift it, *man chis kurta na kū;* I could not fasten it, *man basta na kurta.*

Let.—This is expressed in the first and third persons of the imperative by *bil* (the imperative of *līaga,* to permit) with the aorist of the verb.

Let me go, *Bil keh man aroan.* *I will let him go* is expressed by *Man airā roaga lī-īñ* (*or kilīñ*).

I allowed him to go, or I let him go, *Man airā roaga ishta.*

Āstin or *āst,* negative *nīstin* or *nīst.*

This is used to signify possession or existence, and takes the place of the verb *to have.* It undergoes no inflection.

e.g.	Turā fursāt āst ?	Have you leisure ?
	āch āst ?	Is there any fire ?
	āch nīst,	There is no fire.

Kanaga, deaga, and *kapaga.*—These verbs are often used in conjunction with another word to form a verb. When used in this way they take no prefix to the 2nd persons of the imperative.

Conjugation of Verbs.

BUAGA, BĪAGA, To be, or to become.

This is the only verb with separate present and future tenses.

Present.

	Sing.		*Plur.*	
1.	man uñ,	I am.	amā añ *or* iñ,	we are.
2.	to e,	thou art.	shumā e *or* it,	you are.
3	ā iñ *or* int,	he is.	ā, añ *or* ant,	they are.

Future.

1.	man abīn̈, abān̈, I shall be.	ama aban̈, abin̈, we shall be.
2.	to abe, abī, thou shalt be.	shumā abī, abit, abit, you shall be.
3.	ā abī, abit, he shall be.	ā aban̈, abant, they shall be.

Preterite No. 1.

1.	manatun̈, I was or became.	amā atan̈, we were or became.
2.	to ate, thou wast or becamest.	shumā ate, atit, you were or became.
3.	ā at, he was or became.	ā atan̈, atant, they were or became.

Preterite No. 2.

1.	man būta or bīta, I was or became.	amā būta or bīta, we were or became.
2.	to būta or bīta, thou wast or becamest.	shumā būta or bīta, you were or became.
3.	ā būta or bīta, he was or became.	ā būta or bīta, they were or became.

Perfect.

1.	man būtagan̈ *or* bītagan̈,	I	was or became.
2.	to būtage *or* bītage,	thou	was or became.
3.	ā būtagan̈, būtagant, bītagan̈, bītagant,	he	was or became.
1.	amā būtagan̈ *or* bītagan̈,	we	were or became.
2.	shumā būtagī *or* bītagī,	you	were or became.
3.	ā būtagan̈ *or* bītagan̈,	they	were or became.

Preterite Participle.

Būtag, became.

Imperative.

1.	bil keh man abīn̈,	let me be.	1.	bil keh amā aban̈,	let us be.
2.	bū, bī,	be thou.	2.	būd, bīd,	be ye.
3.	bil keh ā abīt,	let him be.	3.	bil keh ā aban̈,	let them be.

The following are occasionally used :—

Bāt, bā, bād; May it be, may you be, &c.

Agār bebīd.—This phrase is used to express "if there be any," *e. g. Boro āpa biār*, go and fetch water; *agār bebīd man akāriṅ*, if there be any I will bring it.—Vide *Potential.*

The present tense of this verb appears to correspond to the verbal terminations of the same meaning in Persian.

The future appears to correspond with *buwam* of the Persian verb *būdan*, to be, and the second form of the preterite is evidently from the same verb.

The following show the method of conjugation of the irregular verbs *kanaga, aiaga,* and *roaga*, the defective *sarpada 'baiṅ*, and the regular verb *gwashaga*. The latter shows the method of inflection of all Beloochee verbs with the exception of the manner of forming the preterite tense, in which there is considerable irregularity.

KANAGA, To do.

Aorist, I am doing, or I will do.

1.	man akan-īṅ, āṅ, aṅ.	amā akan-aṅ.
2.	to akan-e.	shumā akan-e, it.
3.	ā akant, akanīt.	ā akan-ant.

Preterite, I did.

1.	man kurta, kuta, kū.	amā kurta, kuta, kū.
2.	to kurta, kuta, kū.	shumā kurta, kuta, kū.
3.	ā kurta, kuta, kū.	ā kurta, kuta, kū.

Perfect, I did, I have done.

1.	man kurtag-aṅ, uṅ; kurtag-aṅ, uṅ.	amā kurtag-aṅ, kutag-aṅ.
2.	to kurtag-e, kutag-e.	shumā kurtag-ī, kutag-ī.
3.	ā kurtag-aṅ, ant, kutagaṅ ant.	ā kurtag-aṅ, kutag-aṅ.

Preterite Participle, Done.

Kurtag or ku'tag.

Imperative.

2nd pers. sing. *pekan, kan.* | 2nd pers. pl. *pekanī, kanī.*

1st and 3rd persons formed by aorist with *bil.*

AIAGA, to come.

This verb has two forms of the aorist.

Aorist No. 1, I am coming, I will come.

1.	man akai-iṅ, aṅ.	amā akai-aṅ.
2.	to akai-e.	shumā akai-it.
3.	ā akait.	ā akai-aṅ.

Aorist No. 2, I am coming, I will come.

1.	man ai-in, aṅ.	amā ai-aṅ.
2.	to ai-e.	shumā ai-it.
3.	ā ai-at.	ā ai-aṅ.

Preterite, I came.

1.	man	amā	
2.	to } ātka, atka, āta *or* at.	shumā	} ātkā, atka, āta *or* at.
3.	ā	ā	

Perfect, I came, I have come.

1.	man	ātag-aṅ, uṅ.	*or* ātkag-aṅ, uṅ.
2.	to	ātag-e.	*or* ātkag-e.
3.	ā	ātag-ant, aṅ.	*or* ātkag-ant, aṅ.
1.	amā	ātag-aṅ.	*or* ātkag-aṅ.
2.	shumā	ātag-ī.	*or* ātkag-ī.
3.	ā	ātag-aṅ.	*or* ātkag-aṅ.

Imperative.

2nd pers. sing. biā. 2nd pers. pl. biāid.

Preterite Participle.

ātag or ātkag.

ROAGA, To go.

Aorist, I am going, I will go.

1.	man aroan *or* arein.	amā aroaṅ *or* areiṅ.
2.	to aroe.	shumā aroe *or* arot.
3.	ā arot.	ā aroan *or* areiṅ.

Preterite, I went.

1.	man	1. amā	
2.	to } shuta, shut *or* shū.	2. shumā	} shuta, shut, shū.
3.	ā	3. ā	

Perfect, I went, I have gone.

1. man shutaguṅ.	1. amā shutagaṅ.
2. to shutage.	2. shumā shutagī.
3. ā shutagant, shutagaṅ.	3. ā shutagaṅ.

Preterite Participle, Gone,
shutag.

Imperative.

2nd pers. sing. *boro.* 2nd pers. pl. *boroid.*

The aorist and imperative of this verb are evidently from the Persian verb *raftan,* to go (aorist *rawam*). The remaining tenses appear to be from *shudan* to be, or to go.

DEFECTIVE VERB. SARPADA 'BAIN, I understand.

Aorist.

1. man sarpada 'bain, sarpada 'bān *or* sarpada 'bīn.
2. to sarpada 'be.
3. ā sarpada 'bīt.
1. amā sarpada 'biṅ.
2. shumā sarpada 'bit.
3. ā sarpada 'baṅ.

Preterite.

man, to, ā, amā, shumā, ā } sarpada būta *or* sarpada bīta.

Regular Verb. GWASHAGA, To speak, to say.

Aorist, I am speaking, I will speak.

1. man agwash-īṅ, āṅ.	1. amā agwash-aṅ.
2. to agwash-e.	2. shumā agwash-ī, īt.
3. ā agwash-ī, īt.	3. ā agwash-aṅ, ant.

Preterite, I spoke.

1. man	1. amā	gwashta *or* gū.
2. to	2. shumā	
3. a	3. ā	

Perfect, I spoke, I have spoken.

1. man gwashtag-aṅ, uṅ.	1. amā gwashtag-aṅ.
2. to gwashtag-e.	2. shumā gwashtag-ī.
3. ā gwashtag-an, uṅ.	3. ā gwashtag-an.

Preterite Participle, Spoken.

Gwashtag.

Imperative.

1.	Bil keh man agwashīn, āṅ,	Let me speak.
2.	Begwash,	Speak thou.
3.	Bil keh ā agwashī, īt,	Let him speak.
1.	Bil keh amā agwashaṅ,	Let us speak.
2.	Begwashīd,	Speak ye.
3.	Bil keh ā agwashaṅ, ant,	Let them speak.

Potential, I may speak.

1. man begwash-īṅ, āṅ, &c.

This verb is plainly from the Persian verb *guftan,* to speak.

The correct form appears to be *gwashaga,* but it is often pronounced *gushaga.*

PASSIVE VOICE.

This is very rarely used in Beloochee, the active voice being generally substituted.

The following will show the method of forming the principal tenses of the passive voice :—

I shall be beaten,	Man janag abīṅ.
I was beaten,	Man janag būta.
I should have been beaten,	Man janag būt atuṅ.
I had been beaten,	Man janag būtag atuṅ.
I have been beaten,	Man janag būtagaṅ.

CAUSAL VERBS.

There is no rule for the formation of causal verbs in Beloochee. A few of the Persian causal verbs have been retained, as *rasānaga* (Persian *rasānīdan*).

The following verbs form causals; they are probably of Sindee origin :—

chandaga,	to shake (intransitive);	causal	chandenaga, to shake (transitive).
lotaga,	to want;	,,	lotainaga, to demand.
sūraga,	to shake (intransitive);	,,	sūrīnaga, to shake (transitive).
pulaga,	to become wet;	,,	pulenaga, to make wet.

ADVERBS.

In Beloochee adverbs exhibit no peculiarities. In construction they generally precede the verb.

They are generally the inflected forms of nouns.

Following is a list of those most in use :—

above,	sarbarā, bālā.
afterwards (time),	gudān, gudin, pashtara.
after, behind (place),	randa.
again,	noka (literally *anew*).
always,	yek-kashā.
before(time),	pesara, peshtara.
before(place)	dema, sāriā.
beyond,	ādem, dema.
between,	miyanjī, toka.
below,	buna, chīra.
back,	pada.
behind,	randa.
down,	jālā.
ever,	izhbar, izhbī.
hence,	achidā, azhdā, ashidā, chamidā.
how,	chitor, chonī, choan.
how many, how much,	chunt, chinka.
here,	ingū, hamingū.
here,	idā, hamidā.
inside,	thār, tahār, lāpa.
never,	izhbar, izhbī (with na).
now,	nūn, nīn, hanūn, hanīn.
outside,	darāi, dar, dana.
over,	sarbarā.
once,	yebarī, yek bār.
thus,	chosh.
to-day,	marochī.
to-morrow,	bāṅdād.
to-night,	īshap.
this side,	edem, e nemaga.
thence,	achudā, ashudā, chamudā (*for* ach hamudā).
under,	buna, chīra.
up,	bālā.
when,	kadiṅ.
where,	kujā, kū, with the verb roaga, *kujā āngū* is used; *e.g.* where are you going, *kujā āngū aroe.*
whence,	ash kujā.
why,	parchā, parche.
in the morning,	soba.
in the evening,	begā.
yet,	tanagī, tanageī.

The following are used as Relative and Correlative.

Rel. harwahdī keh, *when.*
„ ā jā, har jā, har kuja, *wherever.*

Correl. hamā wahdī, *then.*
„ hamāngū, hamudā, *there, thither.*

Ham.—The *ham* prefixed to adverbs of place appears to be frequently used without altering the meaning of the word; *e.g.*, *hamāngū* and *hamingū* are frequently used in the sense of *here* and *there* without having the force of *in this very place*, or *in that very place*.

PREPOSITIONS.

Prepositions require the termination *i* or *a* added to the substantives to which they refer. They are generally the same as the adverbs. They are placed after the substantive, except *par*, *ash*, *go*, *bagar*, and *tā*, which precede the substantive and require no termination to be added.

Following is a list of those most frequently used:—

above,	sara, sarbarā.
after (time),	gud.
after, behind (place),	randa.
at,	The dative case as *Gwādara*, at Gwadur.
along with,	goṅ, go, lūra.
before (place),	dema.
before (time),	peshtara, pesara.
beneath,	chīra, buna.
between,	miyanjī, toka.
beyond,	ūdem, dema.
behind,	randa. In the sense "at the back of" *pushta* is used; *e.g.*, *bāga pushta*, behind the garden.
by,	ash, ach.
except,	bagar.
for,	par, wāsta. (The dative case is, however, generally used to imply *for* without any preposition).
from,	ash, ach. *From here*, ashidā, achidā, azhdā; *From there*, ashudā, achudā.
in,	thār, tahār, lāpa.
on, over,	sara.
towards,	nemaga.
to,	Dative case, or *tā*. The latter is used when speaking of two places in the sense of *from* one *to* the other.

e.g. I am going to Gwadur, *Man Gwādara 'roań*; He went from Gwadur to Pusnee, *ā ash Gwādar tā Pāsnī shutagań*; How far is it from here to Gwadur? *Azhdā tā Gwādar chunt dīr iń?*

under,	chīra, buna.
upon,	sara.
with,	goń, go, lūra. In the sense of "by" ash, ach.
without,	bagar.
in possession of,	goń, go, gwara; *e.g.* I have it, *Go man āst*, or *mani gwara āst.*

Ash and *ach* are very often changed to *'sh* or *'ch* before a word beginning with a vowel, and are sounded as if part of the next word as *'ch e* (pronounced *che*) for *ach e*, from this.

Goń and *go* have the peculiarity of being frequently both used to express the word *with*: *e.g.*, Come with me, *Go man biā goń*; Bring those things with you, *A chīāna goń wat biār go.*

CONJUNCTIONS.

These present no peculiarities. The following are the most common:—

also,	ham.
and,	o.
but,	balī, lekin.
if,	agār.

INTERJECTIONS.

Besides the ordinary Mussulman phrases, the principal are—

Bravo!	Shābāsh.
Oh!	Ai (vocative).
Quick quick! Make haste!	Hayā-hayā.
Indeed!	Hancho.

DIVISIONS OF TIME.

The following names of various parts of the day and night, are very useful to any one travelling in Mekran:—

The space from about two to four hours before daylight,	mazanin gwarbām.
About one hour before daylight,	gwarbām.

When there is just faint dawn,	ātārag.
Just before sunrise,	nimāz, sob, roshanāī (prayer).
About one to two hours after sunrise,	nāhārīa wahdi.
From about three hours after sunrise till noon,	swāragānī.
Noon,	nīmroch.
Noon till about 2 P.M.,	zuhr (prayer).
2 P.M. till sunset,	begā.
About two hours before sunset,	asr (prayer).
From sunset till dark,	magrab (prayer).
When just dark,	shām.
About one hour after sunset,	ashar (prayer).
From the time it becomes quite dark till midnight,	shap.
Midnight,	nīmshap

NUMERALS.

These are almost exactly the same as the Persian numbers :—

1.	yak, yek.	11.	yoazdā.
2.	do.	12.	dowāzdā.
3.	sai.	13.	sīzdā.
4.	chār.	14.	chārdā.
5.	panj, panch.	15.	pāṅzdā.
6.	shash.	16.	shāṅzdā.
7.	hapt, haft.	17.	haptdā.
8.	hasht.	18.	hashtdā.
9.	no.	19.	nozdā.
10.	dā.	20.	bīst.

21, 22, 23, &c., bīst-o-yak, bīst-o-do, &c.

30.	sī.	80.	hashtād.
40.	chehil.	90.	nowad.
50.	panjā.	100.	sad.
60.	shāst, shāsht.	200.	dosad.
70.	haptād.	1000.	hazār.

ORDINALS.

1st, awwal. 2nd, domī.

For the rest add *mi* to the cardinal numbers.

FRACTIONS.

½ nīm ⅓ saick ¼ rub *or* chārek ⅕ panchek.

For the rest add *ek* to the cardinal numbers.

DAYS OF THE WEEK.

These are the same as the Persian—

Sunday,	yak shambe.
Monday,	do shambe.
Tuesday,	sai shambe.
Wednesday,	chār shambe.
Thursday,	panj shambe.
Friday,	juma, ādīna.
Saturday,	shambe.

DAYS, NIGHTS, AND YEARS PAST AND TO COME.

Four days ago,	pishta-parerī *or* pishta-pairī.
Three days ago,	pesh-parerī or pesh-pairī.
Day before yesterday,	parerī, pairī.
Yesterday,	zī.
To-day,	marochī.
To-morrow,	bāṅdād.
Day after tomorrow,	poshī poṅshī.
Third day hence,	paramposhī.
Fourth day hence,	pishtī-paramposhī.
Last night,	doshī.
Night before last,	parandoshī.
The third night past,	pisparandoshī.

Beyond the above limits the number of days is expressed as follows :—

I arrived five days ago, *Panchmī roch man ātaguṅ,* or *Marochī panchmī roch int keh man ātaguṅ.*

I am going in five days, *Panch rocha gud man areiṅ.*

Last year,	pārī.
Year before last,	pairārī.
Third year past,	peshta-pairārī.
This year,	imbarā.

IRREGULAR VERBS.

The following is a list of the principal irregular verbs, showing the 1st person singular of the aorist, the preterite, and the imperative with

the infinitive, and aorist of the Persian verb from which they are derived :—

	Infinitive.	Aorist.	Preterite.	Imperative.	Persian verb.	
					Infinitive.	Aorist.
beat	janaga	ajanīṅ	jata, jat	bejan	zadan	zanam
bring	kāraga, āraga	akārīṅ, ārīṅ	aurta	biār	āwardan	āram
burn (trans.)	sochaga	asochīṅ	sotka, sohta	besoch	sokhtan	sozam
burn (intrans.)	sūchaga	asuchīṅ	sūtka, sūhta	besūch		
catch *or* seize	giraga	agirīṅ	gibta	bigir	giriftan	giram
come	aiaga	akai-in, ai-in	āta, ātka, atka or at	biā	āmadan	āyam
cry	greaga	agrewuṅ	greta	bigrī	girīstan	giryam
die	miraga	amirīṅ	murta	bemir	murdan	mīram
do	kanaga	akanaṅ	kurta, kuta, kū	pekan	kardan	kunam
drink *or* eat	waraga	awarīṅ	wārta	bur	k͟hūrdan	k͟hūram
give	deaga	adeīṅ	dāta	bedī	dādan	daham
go	roaga	aroaṅ, areīṅ	shuta, shut, shū	boro	raftan, shudan	rawam, shawam
hold *or* stop	dāraga	adārīṅ	dashta	bedār	dāshtan	dāram
run	tachaga	atachīṅ	tatkata, tachita	betach	tāzīdan	tāzam
see, look	gindaga	agindīṅ	dīsta, dīta	begind	dīdan	bīnam
sew	dochaga	adochīṅ	dotka, dochita, dohta	bedoch	dūk͟htan	dūzam
sleep	waptaga	awapsīṅ	wapta	bwasp, bwaps	k͟huftan	k͟huspam
stand up *or* still	wushtaga	awushtīṅ	wushtata	bosht, bwusht	bāshīdan	bāsham
tie, fasten	bandaga	abandīṅ	basta	beband	bastan	bandam
wash	shodaga	ashodīṅ	shodita, shusta	pushod	shustan	shūyam

FORMS OF ADDRESS AND SALUTATIONS.

In their dealings with one another the Beloochees are a particularly polite people. They rarely address one another without using the word *wājā*, whether the person addressed be superior, inferior, or equal to the speaker.

The Beloochee salutations, which are invariably gone through when two Beloochees meet, extend sometimes to a very great length. The principle of the salutation appears to be as follows :—

A and *B* interchange *salām*.

A and *B* ask after each other's health, and each expresses a wish that the other and his family may be well. This part of the salutation is usually spoken nearly simultaneously by each person.

A and *B* then ask for news, each replying that all is well.

After this any news there may be is exchanged.

In these salutations "all is well" is only a formula. Should either of the speakers be ill, he would still say "all is well."

The simplest form of salutation used by people nearly strangers is as follows :—

A.—Salām alik.
B.—Alikum salām. Wash at.
A.—Wash at.
B.—Drohā jūr e.
A.—Drohā jūr e.
B.—Drohā bāt.
A.—Drohā bāt.
B.—Habar de.
A.—Ash hudāi mihrbāni draiiṅ hair iṅ to habar de.
B.—Ash hudāi mihrbāni draiiṅ hair iṅ.

Between intimates the salutation becomes extended almost indefinitely by repetitions and inquiries after each other's families as follows :—

A.—Salām alik,	Peace upon you!
B.—Alikum salām ; Wash at,	Upon you peace! Welcome!
A.—Wash at,	Welcome!

Then *A* and *B* almost simultaneously, *B* slightly in advance :—

Drohā jūr e? Droha bāt (*or* taiar bāt). To taiar jūr e? To shar taiar jūr e? To wat taiar e? Tai ālam taiar aṅ? Tai brās taiar iṅ? Tai zāl taiar iṅ. &c. &c.	Are you well? May you be well! Are you well? Are you very well? Are you well yourself? Are your people well? Is your brother well? Is your wife well? &c. &c.
B.—Habar de, habar kan, *or* mihrbāni kan.	Give news.
A.—Ash hudāi mihrbāni draiiṅ hair iṅ.	From God's kindness all is well.
or, ash hudāi rahm badi na hair iṅ.	From God's mercy it is not bad but well (with me).
or, ash tai salāmatī draiiṅ hair iṅ.	From your safety all is well.
to habar de, to habar kan. *or* to mihrbāni kan.	You give news.

B. gives the same answer as *A.* After this, *wash at, droha jur e? drohā bāt*, &c., is often repeated, then

A.—Nokiṅ hāla kan.	Give news.
B.—Man na hush kurta badiṅ hāl, to nokiṅ hāla kan.	I have heard no bad news, you give news.
A.—Man na hush kurta badiṅ hal.	I have heard no bad news.

This is all subject to variations at the will of the speaker, but the above is the most usual form.

In the case of a salutation of one man to a body of other men the rule is that the new comer addresses the *Sālām alik* to the others generally, and it is answered by them together. The *wash at, drohā bāt*, &c. is then interchanged by the new comer with each individual of the party in turn, or if the party be large with a few of the head people only. After this, the headman of the party, addressing his followers, says *habar gir*, ask for news. The followers decline doing this by saying *jī*, implying that they leave it to the chief to ask for news. The chief then proceeds with the salutation from *habar de.*

Should one of the parties be in a house and the other arrive from outside, the former must be the first to say *wash at* and *habar kan.*

Answering a man's enquiries by less than he asks you is a proof of assumption of superior position or of ill manners.

REMARKS.

Syntax.—In Beloochee the usual order of words in a sentence is—

(I.) Nominative,

(II.) Dative or Accusative,

(III.) Verb,

the adverbs, prepositions, &c., taking their places as described under their respective heads. The relative orders of nominative, accusative, and verb are however by no means strictly adhered to, and the accusative is frequently placed after the verb.

a.—The termination and prefix (*a*) is one of the greatest difficulties in Beloochee. It is frequently used in places where it cannot be accounted for grammatically, as *nazik* (*a*) *biā*, come near; *a mardum* (*a*) *gwasht*, that man said, &c. In these sentences it appears, however, to be equally right to insert or omit the *a*, which is probably only inserted for the sake of euphony, to avoid two consonants coming together.

In the case of the aorist, however, the *a* is invariably inserted before the verb, although it would appear improbable that the *a* can really be part of the verb.

The following sentences will serve to show the method usually followed by Beloochees in forming sentences. The first part shows the use of some of the more peculiar Beloochee words, and in the latter part will be found a variety of sentences such as are in common use in travelling through the country :—

(I.)

Come here.	Ingū biā.
Come near.	Nazik(a) biā.
Come inside.	Thār biā.
Be silent.	Betowār bū.
Be careful.	Sambāl *or* Habardār bū.
Don't forget.	Dila mabar *or* Behaiyāl mabū.
Remember what I say.	Mani habara haiyāl bedār.
Do you remember?	Turā haiyāl iṅ?
I do not remember.	Man behaiyāl uṅ.
Come back.	Pada biā.
Go home.	Loga boro.

Light the lamp.	Chirāga rok pekan.
Put out the lamp.	Chirāga pukush.
Turn to the right.	Rāsta pitar.
Give my compliments.	Mani salāma bedī *or* berasān.
Don't make a noise.	Towār makan.
Do as I say.	Hanch keh man agwashīṅ hancho pekan.
Mind your own business.	To wati kāra pekan.
Stand still.	Bosht.
Bring some drinking water.	Waragī āpa biār.
Bring some water for washing hands.	Dast shodaga āpa biār.
Go slowly.	Wash-wash(a) boro.
Don't let him go.	Airā mail roaga.
When are you going to leave?	To kadiṅ sark agire?
We shall leave to-morrow morning early.	Amā soba māhala 'roaṅ.
Who are you?	To kai e?
Are you Mahomed?	Mahomed to e? *or* To Mahomed e?
Where have you come from?	To ash kujā ātkage?
Where have they gone?	Ā kujā āngu shutagaṅ?
What do you want?	To che lote?
Where do you live?	To kujā ninde?
Where are you going?	To kujā āngū aroe?
When will he come back?	Ā kadiṅ pada 'kait?
He will never come back.	Ā izhbar pada na aiat.
What is the use of that?	Ā che kār akait?
Why do you do thus?	To parchā chosh akane?
What is the matter?	Che būta?
What do you call this?	To eshira che 'gwashe?
What is the name of this?	Eshi nām che?
Do you understand?	To sarpada 'be?
I don't understand.	Man sarpada na 'baiṅ.
Make him understand (*i. e.* explain to him).	Airā sarpad kan.
Listen to me.	Mani habara gosh dār.
What you say is all true.	Hanch keh to agwashe drust rāst in.
Say it again.	Noka begwash.

I will give you ten rupees per mensem.	Man turā māha dā kaldāra 'deliṅ.
Very good Sir, I agree.	Sak shar Wāja, kabūl iṅ.
Bring those things with you.	Ā chiāna goṅ wat biār go.
It is very hot.	Sak garm iṅ.
The sky is cloudy.	Āsmāna nod iṅ.
How dark it is.	Cho tahār in.
It will rain to-day.	Marochī haur abī.
Does much snow fall on the hills?	Kohāna sara barp bāz akapī?
There was thunder yesterday.	Zī grund būta.
Has the moon risen yet?	Tanagī māh dar at?
Last night there was lightning in the north. Probably the river will fill to-day (bring water to-day).	Doshī kutuba girok at (*or* būta). Geshtar marochī kohr āpa 'kārī.
Why do you go on foot?	To parchā pāda 'roe?
I am fond of walking.	Mana dost abīṅ pāda roaga.
Are you tired?	To dam burta?
Come with me.	Go man biā goṅ.
Call me early in the morning.	Mana soba māhala pāda kan.
They went six months ago.	Shash māh aṅ keh ā shutagant.
It is three years since I was about here.	Sai sāl aṅ keh man paridā na ātkaguṅ.
Do you like to go?	Turā dost abī roaga?
As you like.	Hanch keh turā dost abī.
Give me a little water.	Mana kamiṅ (*or* tukuriṅ) āpa bedī.
Have you learnt Hindustani?	To Hindustānīa burta.
I will wear this shirt.	Man e jāmaga gwara 'kanaṅ.
I will wear these trousers.	Man e shalwāra pāda 'kanaṅ.
A little remains in this inkstand.	E masdāna lāpa tukur mān iṅ.
I have nothing to eat or drink.	Mana waraga-charaga hich chī nīst.
Go in front.	Sāriā boro.
Put these things in the bag.	E chiāna pelaga lāpa mān kan (or mān gij).
Put it down here.	Hamidā īr kani.
Come down from there.	Ashudā īr kap.
Go down into the nullah here and come out there on the other side.	Hamidā kohra lāpa īr kap, ādem hamudā dar kap.
Pour water into this.	Eshia āpa īr rech.

Have you thrown away the water?	To āpa retka?
Take those things out of the bag.	Ā chiāna dar gej 'che pelaga lāpa.
Whatever be lost I will find.	Har che gār abī man daragejīṅ.
Have you water with you?	Āp goṅ iṅ go?
Have you brought water with you?	Āp aurta goṅ?
Come with the things.	To goṅ sāmāna boro (*or* goṅ sāmāna lura boro).
This was formerly mine, now it is his.	E awwal manig būta, ḫanīṅ aiig iṅ.

(II.)

Are the camels ready?	Bag tiār iṅ?
Yes sir, they are all ready.	Hau wāja drust tiār aṅ.
The camelmen want an advance to buy provisions for the journey.	Hushteriān zara 'lotaṅ keh toshaga 'giraṅ.
Start off.	Sark gir.
How far is to-day's stage?	Marochīa minzil chunt dūr iṅ?
We shall arrive there at sunset.	Amā magraba 'rasaṅ.
What kind of a road is it, good or bad?	Rā choan iṅ? Shar iṅ? Gandag iṅ?
The road is all good, but in the creek there may be some difficulty.	Drohāiṅ rā shar iṅ, bali kohar tukuriṅ mushkulī abī.
When is it high tide?	Daryā kadīṅ pur abī?
It is high tide now, but by the time we reach the creek there will not be much water in it.	Daryā hanīṅ pur iṅ, lekin harwahdī amā kohra rasaṅ āp bāz na'bī.
Will there be moonlight to-night?	Ishap māhi kānī abī?
What time does the moon rise?	Māh che wahdī dar akait?
The moon will rise at midnight.	Māh nīmshapa dar akait.
Take care that the camel's feet do not slip in the creek.	Habardār keh kohra lāpa hushteraa pād na 'lugushī (*or* na 'shitterī).
I will follow you.	Man tai randa 'kaiaṅ.
I shall go by the sea-beach.	Man tiāba 'roaṅ.
The way will be stopped on the sea-beach at Buddook* when the tide rises.	Harwahdī keh daryā bālā 'kait, tiāba rā, Badūka gat abī.

* A name given to places where the beach is impassable at high tide.

What is that which I can see in the distance?	A che iṅ keh dūr pedā iṅ?
I think it is a camel.	Geshtar hushtera iṅ.
Do you see those trees?	Ā drāchāna ginde to?
That is where a Kulmuttee was killed last year by the Rinds.	Gwastagiṅ sāla, hamāngū Rindān yek Kalmatīa kushta.
Indeed!	Hancho!
What kind of ground is it there?	Āngū chitor zamīn iṅ?
It is salt ground.	Shor iṅ (*or* kalar iṅ).
Is there a well near those trees?	Ā drachkāna nazik chāh āst?
Yes sir, there is. It would be well if we were to stay there to-night.	Hā wājā āstin. Agār amā shapa hamāngū adāraṅ sak shar abī.
Is the water sweet there?	Āngū āp wash iṅ?
It is not very sweet, but it is drinkable.	Sak wash na iṅ balī waragī abī.
Is there good grass for the camels?	Hushteraa wāsta shariṅ kā abī?
There is plenty of salt grass and babul trees.	Sūrag o chish bāz iṅ.
Do you think there will be any rain?	Tai dila haur abī?
No there will not be any rain till the winter.	Na, zimistāna haur abī, peshtara na'bī.
What people live in those huts?	Ā halka kai anindī?
Are these the people who have been lately stealing camels?	Hamān aṅ keh haniṅ hushterāna duzd kurtagaṅ?
No, these are good people and do not steal.	Na, e shariṅ mardumān aṅ duzda na 'kanaṅ.
How did they come by these fields?	E zamīn chitor airā rasita?
It was given to them as blood money.	Airā hūna rasita, (*or* hūna sara rasita).
Are there any hares here?	Ingū kargoshk abī?
In the winter there are a very great many grouse and partridges here.	Zimistāna ingū katangar o kapīnjar bāz iṅ, hancho keh much.
Are there any deer here?	Ingū āsk abī?
At night the deer come from the hills.	Shapa āsk ash koh akaiaṅ.
Is the tent pitched?	Tambūa jata, (or tambūa lik kurta)?
Have the camelmen fetched wood and water?	Hushterīān dār o āp aurtagaṅ?

Where is the well?	Chā kū iṅ?
In the bed of the nullah.	Kohra lāpa.
Have the camels been let loose to graze?	Hushtera charaga yele data?
Tell the camelmen not to let the camels go far away, as I shall start early in the morning.	Hushterlāna begwash keh mai-keh hushtera dūr aroaṅ. Man soba māhala 'roan.
What can we get to eat here?	Ingu che arasī waraga?
Sheep and fowls can be got here.	Ingū gurānd o kukur arasaṅ.
Is it cold here at night?	Ingū shapa sard abī?
No, the hills keep off the breeze.	Na, kohān gwāta gat akanaṅ.
Are there any camels to be hired here?	Ingū hushtera āst keh kiryā akanaṅ?
I will go and ask.	Man aroaṅ, just akanaṅ.
I will go and look.	Man aroaṅ, achariṅ (*or* haiyāl akanaṅ).
Have you many sheep?	Goṅ tai mesh baz aṅ?
Whose are those date trees?	A mach kai iṅ?
When did the baggage camels arrive?	Bag kadīṅ rasita?
If you don't see the camel himself, look for his pugs.	Agār to hushteraa jinda na 'ginde pada haiyāl kan.
Unload the camels here.	Hushteraa bār hamidā boj.

SHORT VOCABULARY.

A.

above	sarbarā sara
abundant	bāz
abuse, to	bad deaga, bad gwashaga
account (money)	hisāb
account (reason)	sabab
active	hushyār, puktāg
after	gudāṅ, gud, gudīṅ
after, behind	randa
afternoon	vide divisions of day, begū
afterwards	gudāṅ, gudiṅ, pashtara
again	noka, literally "anew"
age	umbr
agree	kabūl kanaga
agreement	kabūl
agriculturist	dahikān
ague	gwahar
ago	expressed as follows:—he went three days ago. Sai roch iṅ keh ā shutagaṅ
air	gwāt

alive	zindag
all	drust, drohā, hama, hamuk
allow, to	liaga, liīn, ishta, bil
almond	bādām
along with	goṅ, go, lūra
also	ham
alum	pitūkī.
always	yekkashā
and	o
angry	zahr
animal	rastar (if harām), dalwat (if halāl)
ankle	much
annoyance	halāk
answer	jawāb
ant	mor
ant, white	rumīr, dārwar
antimony	sirimug
anvil	sindān
any	chīzī
anyone	kas
anyhow	har-che-bebīd, hanchoshī
apple	sorob
apple of eye	chama siyāhag
arm	dast, bāzk
arm pit	bagal
army	lashkar
arrive, to	rasaga, arasiṅ, rasta *or* rasita, beras
arrive to, cause to	rasānaga, rasāniṅ, rasānta, berasān
artery	rag
as	hanch, hancho
ashes	pur
ask, to	justo kanaga, justa kanaga
ass	har
assafœtida	hing (*hind*)
assist	kumak deaga
assistance	kumak
at	expressed by dative case, Gwādara "at Gwadur"
awake, to be	hāga biaga
awaken, to	pāda kanaga (*transitive*)
awaken	pāda aiaga (*intransitive*)
axe	towār

B.

babul tree	chish, tish
bad	gandag, harāb
back (of body)	pusht, bad
back (direction)	pada
bag, saddle	hurjin
bag, made of carpet	kont
bag, generally	pelag
bag, goat hair	gwālag
baggage	sāmān, bunag
baggage, if consisting of householdgoods accompanied by women and children	barwār
ball (bullet)	tīr
banāna	mwoz, moz
banian tree	karag
barber	hajām

barren	dan
barley	o
bark, to	lākaga, alākīṅ, lākita, belāk
bat	shapchar
basket	lach, lachuk, kapāt
basket, kind of mat bag	pāt
bee	benaga makask, gwamz
bear	rich
beard	rīsh
beetle	gundār, gokindār, dandū
beat, to	janaga, ajanīṅ, jata *or* jat, bejan
bedding	gud, gandal
bedstead	taht, tāht
before, *adverb of place*	dema, sāriā
before, *adverb of time*	awwal, peshtara, pesara
beggar	pakīr, miār
begin, to	sūrū kanaga
behind	randa
bell, any	tillū
belly	lāp
below } beneath }	buna, chīra
between	toka, miyānjī
beyond	ādem, dema
bill	hisāb
bird	murg
bitter	zāhir, zahr
black	siyāh
blacksmith	lūrī
blind	kor, becham
blood	hūn
blood money	hūna zar
blue	nīl
blunt	kunt
boar	hīk
body	jān
body, whole person	jind
boil, to (*trans.*)	lahr kanaga
boil, to (*intrans.*)	lahr būaga
boiling	lahr
bone	had
book	kitāb
boot	kaush
booty	hūl, pul
both	doiṅ, bār do
box	petī
boy	bachak
brass	brinj
bread	nān, nagan
brain	majg
breadth	prāhī
break, to (any hard thing)	prushaga, aprushīṅ prushta, beprush
break, *intransitive*, applied to soft things, ropes, &c.	sindaga, asindīṅ, sista, besind
breakfast	swārag.
breakfast, early	nāhārī
breast, man	gwar
breast, woman	gwar
breath	gīn
brick	īt, isht
bridge	phul
bridle	lagām
bring, to	āraga; ārīṅ *or* kārīṅ; aurta; biār
brother	brās, brāt

brown	bor
buffalo	gamish
bullet	tīr
bullet-mould	kālib, tīr-rech
bullock	kārigar, gok
bullocks, cows, and young in a herd	gwurm, gorung
Bunniah	gor
burn, to (*trans.*)	sochaga, asochiṅ, sotka, besoch
burn, (*intrans.*)	sūchaga, asūchiṅ, sūtka, besūch
bury, to	kala kanaga
bustard	charz
but	bali, lekin
butcher	kasāb
butter	nemag
buy, to	kīmat kanaga (*zuraga* or *giraga* generally used)
butterfly	pirik

C.

calf	gwask
call, to	gwān kanaga
camel, generally	hushtera
camel, up to 1 year old whilst milk drinking	chīrmāt, jarī, hir, bandukī
„ 1 to 2 years	mātāpus
„ 2 to 3 „	māzād
„ 3 to 4 „	razm
„ 4 to 5 „	zank
„ 5 to 6 „	dodantānī
„ 6 to 7 „	chār dantānī
„ 7 to 8 „	shash dantānī
„ 8 years and upwards	neshī
camel up to 5th year, male	kowāt, kowānt
„ up to 5th yr. female	purāp
„ more than 5 yrs. male	lero
„ more than 5 yrs. female	dāchī
camel, riding	māhrī
camels, a number of	bag
camel, circle on breast	senag
camel rein	māhar
camel rein, small end of	sarmāhar
camel's head gear	saramsā
camel's neck band	selī
camel's band passing under neck and fastened to front of saddle	gwarband
camel's crupper	pārdīn
camphor	kāfūr
cannon	top
canoe	yekdār
cap, man's	top, kulā
cap, gun	topī (*hind.*)
care	parwā
careless	beparwā
carpet	jul
cask	pīp
cat	pūshī
catch (to seize)	giraga, agiriṅ, gibta bigir
caterpillar	pirik
cause to fall	see 'fall, to cause to'

cause to arrive	see "arrive, to cause to"
centipede	sowāsū
centre	tok
certain (a certain one, &c.)	falān
chair	kurshī
chattie (cooking)	manjal
charcoal	ishkār, ishkar
cheap	āsān
cheek	kalak, gul
cheese	shilānch
chest(man's)	dil
child	zāg, chok
chin	zanīk
chisel	patāsī, hushkunag
cholera	margu
cinnamon	dārchīnī
city	kilāt, shahr
clay	hāk
clean	pāhk
cloak	shāl, dupī
clock	sā'at
cloth	gud
clothes	poshāk, gudān
cloud (black rain)	istīn
cloud, light	nod
coast	tiāb
cobbler	mochī
cock (of gun)	zad
cock (fowl)	koros, kurus, bāngū
cocoanut	nālagīan
coffee	kāhawā
cold (temperature)	sard
cold season	zimistān
cold, a	pashāg
collect, to	moch kanaga much kanaga
colour	rang
comb	shak, sarand
contented	razā, rāzī
come, to	ainga; aiiū, *or* akaiiū, ātka, āta *or* at; biā
come out, to	dar kapaga
come down, to	īr kapaga
compass	dero
completely	yebara
cook	mubdeī
cook, to	brijaga, abrijiā, brihta, brij
cook, to	grādaga, agrādiā grādita *or* grāsta, begrād
copper	rod
cord	sād
coriander	kīnīch
cork	bujī, buch
cotton, or cotton tree	karpās
cough, a	kulag
country	mulk
country (not town)	kūchig
cow	mādagiū gok
crab	kuklī, nāhuchin
crane (bird)	kang
cricket, a	kurakush, chirat
crime	taksīr, taskīr, gunā
crooked	chot
crop	zamīk
crow	gurāg
cry, to	grenga, agrewuū, greta, bigrī
cucumber	kusij
cut, to	burnga, aburīū burita, bubur

cut, a	tap
cuttle fish	sam
cuttle fish bone	kap-i-daryā

D.

damp	tar
dark	tabār, lunj
darkness	tahār, lunj
dates, quite ripe	nā (4th stage)
dates, acid	pon
dates, when green	papuk (1st stage)
dates, when slightly red	kulunt (2nd stage)
dates, half red and half ripe	pogaz (3rd stage)
dates, superior kind, in earthen chatties	muzātī
dates, superior kind, in baskets (2nd sort)	kārabā
dates, dry	hurmāg
date-tree	mach, machī
daughter	janik
day	roch
dead	murtag
deaf	kar
deafness	karī
dear (price)	girān
debtor	wāmdār
deep	juhl
deer	āsk, au
delay	der
delicate	nāzurk
demand, to	lotainaga, alotainīṅ, lotainta, belotain
depth	juhlī
desire, to	lotaga, alotīṅ, lotita
dew	namb, gwapsh
diarrhœa	lāpa dard, expressed thus: "I have diarrhœa," mani lāp dard akanīt
die, to	miraga, amirīṅ, murta, bemir
difficult	mushkul
dig, to	kanda janaga
dinner	shām
direction	nemaga
dirt or dirty	legār, chil
distant	dīr, dūr
do, to	kanaga; akanīṅ; kurta *or* kū; pekan *or* bekan
doctor	tabīb
dog	kuchak
donkey	har
double (cloth &c)	dotāl
double (work expense, &c.)	dosarī
double, to (cloth, &c).	dotāl kanaga
dove	kapot
down	jālā
draw, to (pull)	hurjinaga, ahurjinīṅ, hurjinta, hurjin
drawing, a	namūnā
drink, to	waraga, awarīṅ, wārta, bur
drive away, to	galenaga, agalenīṅ galenta, galen *or* galī

drop	pit
drum	dohl
drunkard	kaipī
dry	hushk
duck	bat
dumb	gung
dust storm	muj
dust	hāk
dwell, to	nindaga, anindīṅ, nishta, benind
dysentery	same as diarrhœa

E.

each, every	hār, har, hama hamuk
ear	gosh
early	māhala; early morning, soba māhala
earth, the	dunya
earth	hāk
east	rodarat
easy	āsān
eat, to	waraga, awarīṅ wārta, bur
eclipse	māgīr
edge (of a knife, &c.)	dap
edge, margin	kir, karak
egg	haik
elbow	surushk
elephant	pīl
employ, to	nokar kanaga
employment	nokarī
empty	hurk
empty, to make	hurk kanaga
empty, to make (liquids)	rechaga, arechīṅ, retka, rech
end	kir, sar
enemy	dushmān
engine	chark
enough	bas
equal	barābar
erect, to (cause to stand)	lik kanaga, mik kanaga
ever (at any time)	izhbar, izhbī
excellent	kābū, zabr, sakshar
except	bagar
expense	harch
extraordinary	ajab
eye	cham
eye-brow	burwān
eye-lash	michāch
eye-lid	chama-kos

F.

face	dem
fall, to	kapaga, akapīṅ, kapta, bekap
fall, cause to	perenaga, aperenīṅ, perenta, peren; *or* perenānaga, perenānīṅ, perenānta, perenān
false	darog
farmer	dahikān
farrier	nālband
fasten, to	bandaga, abandīṅ, basta, beband
fasten to (attach to anything)	lagaga, alagīn, lagita, belag
fat (*substantive*)	charp, pīg
fat, (*adjective*)	fazūr

fate	kismat, nasib
father	pis, pit
fault	gunā
fear	trus
fear, to	trusaga, atrusīn, trusita, betrus
fever	tap
few	kam
field	dagār, zamīn
fifth, the	panchmī
fifth, a	panchek
fig	anjīr
fight, to	jang kanaga, miraga, amirīṅ, mirita, bemir
file, a	suhān
file, to	suhān kanaga
find, to	mana, tura, &c., rasaga. Have you found it? Tura rasitagaṅ?
find, to	dargejaga, dargejīṅ, dargetka, dargej
fine, a	malām
finished	halās
finger	lankuk, lankuh
finger, little	chuki-lankuk
fire	āch, ās
fire, to (a gun)	janaga, ajanīṅ, jata *or* jat, bejan
firm, secure	mohr
first	awwal
fish	māhī
fisherman	med
fist	musht
flamingo	lākarī (Sindee)
flea	kak
flesh	gosht
flock, herd	ramag, *sheep or goats*
flock, herd	gwurum, gorung, *oxen*
flock, herd	bag, *camels*
flour	ārt
flower	pul
fly, a	makask
fly away, to	bāl kanaga
fly, horse	dang
foam	kap
fog	nod, namb
fold, to	dotāl kanaga
follow, to	randa aiaga, randa roaga
food	waragī, warag
fool	bewukūf, ganok
foot	pād
foot-mark	pad; pada rand
for	par; generally expressed by use of dative case; wasta, occasionally used but probably only by persons acquainted with Hindustani or Sindee
force, tyranny	zūrāwarī, zabardastī
forehead	peshānī
forget	dila baraga, behaiyāl būaga
forgive	(1) bakshaga, abakshīṅ, bakshita, bebaksh (2) bashkaga abashkīṅ, bashkita, bebashk (3) muhā kanaga
fort	kot, kilāt
fourth, the	chārmī
fourth, a	chārek

fowl, any	kukur
fowl, cock	koros, kurus, bāngū
fowl, hen	nekiank
fox	robā
friend	dost
frog	pugut
from	ash, ach, azh
from here	ashidā achidā
from there	azhdā ; ashudā, achudā
frost	barp
fruit	nīwag
full	pur

G.

gain	paidag, nap, sūt, sīt
game (animals)	shikār, said
game (play)	gwāzī
garden	bāg
gardener	bāgpān
get, to	wadī kanaga
ghee	rogan
gift	bakshish
ginger, dried	sund
girdle	threnband
girl	janik
girth, a	tang
give, to	deaga, adeīṅ, dāta, bedī
giver, a	deūk
glass	shīshag
go	roaga; aroaṅ, areīṅ; shuta, shut, *or* shū ; boro
go by land	hushkī roaga
go by sea	tarī roaga, daryā roaga
go in or down	īr kapaga
go out	dar kapaga
goat, any	siyāhiṅ pas
goat, male	pāchin
goat, female	buz
goat, hill	
goat, hill, male	kohī pāchin
goat, hill, female	kohī buz
God	hudā, allā
goer	roūk (said of a swift-going camel)
gold	tilā
goldsmith	zargar
good	shar
gram	nohd
grandfather	pīruk
grandmother	baluk
grape	angur
grass, sweet	kā, kāwān
grass, sweet, dried	būch
grass, salt	sūrag
grass, salt, various kinds are known by the names	kāl, rigit, bowāt, landin, hashag, mezk, trāt
grave	kal
graze, to	charaga, acharīṅ, charta, bechar
great	mazan
greater	mastar
grebe	jādū
green	sabz
greyhound	tāzī
grind, to	drushaga, adrushīṅ, drushta, bedrush

grindstone	chark
gripes	lāpmurda
groom	hāpsa sarahur
ground	zamīn
grouse	katangar, katungar, chakur
growl, to	guraga, agurīṅ, gurita, gur
guava	zaitun
guinea-worm	rago, ragū
gull	malīr
gun	tūpāk
gunpowder	shūro

H.

hair	mūd, mīd
half	nīm
halt, to	dāraga, adārīṅ, dāshta, bedār
hand	dast
handkerchief	dasmāl
hang, to (*trans. and intrans.*)	dranjaga; adranjīṅ; dratka, drāhta, *or* dranjita; bedrānj
hard	sak
hare	kargoshk
hat	top, kulā
have to (possess)	expressed as follows: I have, mana āst; you have, turā āst, &c., or mani gwara āst &c.
hawk	bāṅz, shikārī
he	ā
head	sarag, sar
headache	sara dard
heart	dil
heat	garmāg
heaven	hibisht
heavy	girān
hedgehog	dajuk
heel	pīnz
height	bālād
hell	dozak, doze
herd	see "flock"
here	ingū, idā, hamingū, hamidā
hereabouts	paridā
heron	kang
high (*adjective or adverb*)	burz
highway	rā, kishk., sark
hill	koh
hire	kiriyā, kire
hog	hīk
hold, to	dāraga, adārīṅ, dāshta, bedār
hole in ground	kal, kanda
hole in anything else	sumb, tung
honey	benag
horn	kānt
hornet	gwamz, sochāko
horse	hāps, hāsp
horseman	sawār
horse shoe	nāl
hot	garm
hot season	garmāg
hour	sā'at
house, any	log, metag
houses, small collection of	halk
houses, in sense of family	gis
houses, mud	bān
how	chitor, choni, choan

how many or how much	chunt, chinkā
hungry	guzhnag
hurry	ishtāpī
hurried or in a hurry	ishtāp
husband	mard
hydrophobia	haraka
hyena	haptār

I.

I	man
ice	barp
idle	kāhil
idleness	sustī
idol	but
if	agār, agar
ignorant	jāhil
ill	nādrohā
immediately	hanīn, hanūn
impassable	gat
place on sea beach impassable at high tide	badūk
impudence	beadabī
in, inside	tahār, lāpa, thār
indeed	albat
indigo	nīl
industrious	izmat kanūk
infant	bachak
infidel	kāfir
ink	mas
ink-stand	masdān, masa darap
innocent	begunā
inquiry	shobāza
insect	liruk
intellect	agl, akl
intelligent	hushyār
intention	irāda
intoxicated	mast
iron	āhin
itch, the	washkechag
ivory	pīla dant

J.

jail	tung
jackal	tolag
jawbone	shāgur
jelly-fish	līmbārī
jelly-fish with long stinging streamers	daryāī sochāko
jewel	tip
join, to	yek kanaga
joint	band
journey	safar
jowaree	sūrū, zurrat
judge	kāzī
jump, to	daur kanaga
justice	insāf, shariat

K.

keep, to	dāraga, adārīn, dāshta, bedār
key	kilīt
khojah	lotia
kick, to	lagata janaga
kid	shanik
kill, to	kushaga, akushīn, kushta, pukush
kind, sort	rakam
kindness	mihrbānī
king	bādshāh

knee	kūnd, zān
knee-cap	pādāna shilānch
knife	kārch
knife, pen	chaṅku
knife, for grass cutting	harrāt, dās
knowledge	ilm
know, to	zanaga, azānīṅ, zānta, bezān
knuckle	bog

L.

labour	izmat
ladder	padiānk
lake	kumb
lamb *v* sheep	
lame	lang
lamp	chirāg
land, to go by	hushkī roaga
landmark (pile of stones to shew road)	chedag
language	habar, lavz
large	mazan
larger	mastar
lark	chagū
last	randa
last night	doshī
last (last year, &c.)	gwastag
laugh	(1) handaga, ahan, dīṅ, haudita, beband
	(2) kandaga, akandīṅ, kandita, bekand
lay down, to	ir kanaga
lead (metal)	surup
leaf (tree)	pan, tāk
lean (thin)	lāgar
learn, to	baraga, abarīṅ, burta, beber.
leave, permission	razā
leave, to	sark giraga, dar kapaga
leather	post
left (hand)	chap
leg	pād
leisure	fursāt
lend, to	anāmat kanaga, anāmat deaga
lend (money)	wām deaga
leprosy	sohrbād, gar
let, to; permit	līaga, līīṅ, ishta, bil
liar	darogband
lid	dapī,
lie, a	darog
lie, to tell untruth	darog bandaga
lift, to	chis kanaga, chista kanaga
light (substantive)	roshanī
light (not heavy)	subuk
light, to (lamp or fire)	rok kanaga
lightning	girūk, girok
like, similar	paima, preceded by termination "a" or "i". Like this, "eshi paima."
like, to	mana, turā, &c., dost bīaga
lime	chūn, ak
lion	sher
lip	lunt

listen	gosh daraga
little, small	kasān
little, a	tukur, kam, kamk, all take inflection "iñ"
live, to dwell	nindaga, anindiñ, nishta, benind
liver, the	jagar
lizard	kitta
load, a	bār
load, to	ladaga, aladīñ, ladita, belad
lobster	lor, kīkata
lock	kubl
locust	madag
loins	thren
long	drāj
look, to	(1) chāraga, achārīñ chārita, bichār (2) halyāl kanaga
loose (not tight)	sust
loot	hūl
loot, to	hūl kanaga
lose, to	gār kanaga
loss	nuksān, nuskān
lost, to be	gār būaga
louse	bot, but

M.

mad	bīakl
make, to, prepare	ād kanaga
man	mardum
mango	hamb
mangrove	timar
manner, style	tor, paima. Do it in this manner; e tor pekan, or e paima pekan
many	bāz; very many, hancho keh, much
march, to; start	sark giraga, dar kapaga
mare	mādīān
mark	nishān
market	bāzār
marriage	sīr
mast	daur
master	wāja
mat (peesh)	tagird
mat (grass)	hasīr
meaning	mānī
meat	gosht
medicine	dharm, dāwā, darmān
meet, to	dochār kapaga
melon, water	kūtag, kītag
melon, musk	tejag
merchant	saudāgar
mercury	pāra, pāro
middle	tok
middle, in	toka
milk	shīr
milk, sour	trushpiñ shīr
mill	jantar, chark
mist	namb
mistake	rad
mistake, to	rad kanaga
mix, to	lūr kanaga
moist	tar
money	zar, nagd
month	māh
monkey	shādū
moon	mā
moonshine	māī kānī
more	gesh, geshtar
more, still	angar
morning	sob

mosquito	pūrī
moth	pātū
mother	mās
mount, to (horse)	sowār kanaga, or sowār būaga
mount, to (camel)	jimāz būaga
mount (get on the top of anything)	sar kapaga
mountain	koh
mouse	kasānin mushk
moustache	barūt, shrāpar, barot
mouth	dap
mud	men, gil
mungoose	rizhgūk
murder	kūn, hūn
mussel	kādo
mussuck	mashk, kalī
mule	kachal, istal, kachar

N.

nail, of body	nākun, nāhun
nail, iron	meh
name	nām
narrow	tank
navel	nāfag
necessary	zarūr
neck	gardin
needle	sūchīn, sīchīn
neem tree	shirīsh
neigh, to	saraga, asarīn, sarīta, besar
never	izhbar na, izhbī na
new	nok
news	hāl, hāl-i-nok
night	shap
nightingale	bulbul
no	na
noise	towār
none, nothing	hich
noon	nīmroch
north	kutub
nose	poz
nostril	granz, grānz
not	na
now	nūn, hanūn, hanīn
nullah, large	kobr
nullah, small	shep, jur
nurse	dāī
nutmeg	jauzi-būak

O.

oath	sogind, saugind.
obārah	charz
obey, to	habar zīraga
oil	tel, rogan
oil, mustard or bitter	zahrin tel
ointment	malham
old man	pīr
old things	kwahn
once	yebarī, yek bār
onion	pīmāz
open, to	pach kanaga, bojaga
opium	afiān
orange	nāring
order	hukm
other	digar
outside	darāī, dar, dan
over	sarbarā, sarā

P.

pain	dard
paint	rang
paint, to	rang deaga
palm of hand	dasta dil

paper	kāgad
parrot	mittū
parting (of hair)	gīwār
partridge	kapīnjar
past	gwastag
path	rā, kishk
pattern	namūna
pay	pagār
peesh plant	pīsh
pelican	mesh-murg
pen	kalam
pepper, white	sorin mirch
pepper, black	siyābin pilpil
perfect	kābū, zabr
permit, to	līaga, aliīn, ishta, bil
petition	arzī
pickaxe	tīkam
pigeon, tame	chāīn
pigeon, wild	kapodār
pillow	sarjā
pistol	watāch
place of deposit	darap, *e. g.* masa darap, an ink-stand
place	jā, jāga
placed, to be	īr būaga
plain, a	dak, dāk, wad
plate	kāshī
play	gwāzī
play, to	gwāzī kanaga
pleasant	dost
ploughshare	kamīr
plough	nangār
pomegranate	ānār
poor	garīb, kangāl
porcupine	sikun
porpoise	goko, gokin
possess, to	*see* "to have"
pour, to	īr rechaga
powder, gun	shuro
powrah	kodāl
pox, small	grumpug
prawn	madag, daryāī madag
pregnant (animals)	āpus
price	kīmat
prison	tung
procure, to	wadī kanaga
proper	kābū
pull, to, to haul or to take out	kashaga, akashīn, kashta, bekash
pull, to, or to haul	hurjinaga, ahurjinīn, hurjinta, hurjin
pulla fish	palwār
purchaser	zīrūk
put, to (into anything)	(1) mān kanaga (2) māngijaga, mānagijīn, māngitka, mangij (3) liquids, *vide* "pour"
put down, to (on the ground)	īr kanaga
put, to (on board a ship)	mān kashaga
put down, to be	īr būaga

Q.

quail	jangalī bat
quantity, very great	hancho keh much
quick	tez, zūd
quicksilver	pāra, pāro
quiet	betowār
quilt	nipāl, nipād

quit, to	yele deaga, yele kanaga
quarter, a	rub

R.

rabbit	kargoshk, wilaiyatī kargoshk
rain	haur
rainbow	drinag, drīnuk
raise, to	chis kanaga, chista kanaga
raisins	mawīch
ramrod	tīrkū
razor	istrag
rat	mushk
read, to	wānaga, awānīn, wānta, bewān
ready	tiār
red	sūr, sohr
rein (horse)	lagūm
rein (camel)	māhar
relations	siyād
remain, to (stop)	dāraga, adārīn dāshta, bedār
remain, to (left over)	mān būaga, pash kapaga
remember, to	mana turā, &c., haiyāl īn
repair, to	ād kanaga
responsibility	joko, (Sindee) zimma
responsible, to be	"I am responsible for this," eshi joko mani sarā īn
rib	pahlī
rice	birinj
rich	dunyādār
right (hand)	rāst
right (true)	rāst
rights (deserts)	hak
ring	mundarī
ripe	pakkā
rise, to	pāda aiaga
rise (sun or moon)	dar aiaga
river	kohr
road	rā, kishk
rob, to	duzdī kanaga, hūl kanaga
robbery	duzdī, hūl
roll, to (cloth &c.)	patāaga, apatāīn, patāta, patā
roll, to (along)	līra deaga
root	rotag
rope, any	sād, chit
rope, made of peesh	chilag
rope, made of goat hair	rez
rope, with loops for fastening loads on camels	ladok
rose water	gulāb
round	gird
rub, to	mushaga, amushīn mushta, mush
run, to	(1) maidāna roaga
	(2) tachaga, atachīn, tachita *or* tatkata, betach
rupee	kaldār
rust	zang
rusty	zangī

S.

saddle, camel, baggage	raht, katab
saddle, camel, riding	pākaro
saddle, horse	zīn
sail	achār

salammoniac	noshāter
salt	wād, sūr
saltpetre	shūro
salt-ground	shor, kalar
sand	hāk, rek
sand storm	dans
sandy place	rek
sand (flying, pillar of)	dāto, lūr
sandal (made of peesh palm)	sawās
sand piper	gurāgū
saw	harrāt
say, to	(1) gwashaga, agwashīṅ, gwashta or gū, begwash (2) sometimes gushaga
scales	shāhim
scissors	migrāz
scrape, to	mushaga, amushīṅ, mushta, bemush
sea	daryā
sea, to go by	tarī roaga, daryā roaga
seal	muhr
search	shohāza
search, to	shohāza kanaga
search, to (for an animal or a man)	randa roaga
season	mausim
season, cold	zimistān
season, hot	garmāg
second	domī
secretly	sarūp
see, to	gindaga, agindīṅ, dista, begind
see (to look)	haiyāl kanaga, chūraga
seed	tom

self	wat
sell, to	baho kanaga, bhāī kanaga
seller	baho kanūk, bhāī kanūk
send, to	dema deaga, rā deaga
sense	agl, hosh
set, to (as the sun)	budaga, abudīṅ, budita, bud
sew, to	dochaga, adochīṅ, dotka or dochita, bedoch
shake, to	sūrīnaga, asūrīnīṅ, sūrīnta, besūrīn
shallow	talag
shame	laj, hayā
shark, any	pagās
shark, hammer-headed	mesh
shark, various kinds	kai-il, narmānī, sid
sharp	tez
sheep, any	mesh, ispetiṅ pas
sheep, male	gurānd
sheep, female	mesh
sheep, hill, any	gad
sheep, hill, male	kohī gurānd
sheep, hill, female	kohī mesh
sheep, milk drinking	gwarag, gwark
sheep, from suckling period till full grown	gatur
sheet	chādar
shell, (any)	gurak; bivalve, karkink
shirt	jāmag
shoe	kaush

shoemaker	mochī (hind)
shop	dukān
shopkeeper	saudāgar
short (man)	patak; (things,) gwand
shore	tiāb
shot	reza
shoulder	kopak, kapag
show, to	pezh dāraga
sick, ill	nādrohā
sickness	nādrohāī
sieve	gechin
silent	betowār
silver	nugra
simoom, hot wind	lewār
sing, to	shaira janaga
sink, to (sun or boat)	budaga, abudīń, budita, bud
sister	gwahār
sit, to	nindaga, anindīń, nishta, benind or mind
sit, to cause to (a camel)	jokinaga, ajokinīń, jokinta, bejokin
skin	post
sky	āsmān
sleep	wāb
sleep, to	wapsaga, awapsīń, wapta, bwaps or bwasp
slippery	lugushān
slip, to	(1) lugushaga, alugushīń, lugushta, lugush (2) shitteraga (3) trapunzaga
slow	wash-wash
small	kasān
smaller	kastar
smell, to	bo kanaga, bū kanaga
smoke	dīt
smoke, to (tobacco)	tambāk kashaga
snake	mār
snow	barp
so much	inkā,
soap	sābun
socks	mozag
soft	naram
sole fish	sowāso
sole, of foot	pāda dil
some, few	laht, kam, kamk (take inflection "iń"); inchrukī, inchkī
sometimes	harwahdī, barīwahdī
some one	kas
something	chīzī
son	zāg
sore, a	resh
sour	trushp
sow, to	kishaga, akishīń kishta, bekish
spark	patrūshag, triposhk
speak, to	(1) gwashaga, agwashīń, gwashta *or* gū, begwash (2) habar kanaga
speaker	gwashūk
spectacles	chashmak
speech	habar
spices	bizar
spider	moko
spine of tree	kuntag
spleen	diluī
spoon	hasag
squirrel	hidrik
stable	tabila
stage, a	minzil, manzil

standstill, to	wushtaga, awushtiṅ wushtata bosht *or* bwusht
star	istār, tārī
start, to	sarkgiraga, dar aiaga, dar kapaga
stay, to, stop	dāraga, adāriṅ, dashta, bedār
steam	bāp
steam boat	āgbūt
steel	pulād
step	kadam
stick, a	lat
still (more)	angar
still, quiet	betowār
stomach	lāp
stone	sing
stopped	gat
storm	tufān
straight	rāst
strain, to (make clear)	gechaga, agechīṅ, getka, gech
strike, to	janaga, ajanīn, jata *or* jat, bejan
strike (against anything)	lagaga, alagīṅ, lagita, belag
string	bandīk
strong (oppressive)	zūrāg
strong, physically (man)	himmatdār, zūrmand
strong, firm (thing)	mohukum
sugar	shakar
sulphur	gokurt
summer	āhar, garmāg
sun	roch
sunshine	roch

surf	gwarm
swear, to	(1) saugind waraga (2) I swear it is thus, &c.; hudāi sarin chosh int
sweeper	turī
sweet	wash
swim, to	uzhnag kanaga
sword	zām, shamshīr
sword fish	bulando, daryāl-āsp.

T.

take, to	(1) zūraga, azūriṅ, zūrta, buzūr, (2) zīraga, azīriṅ, zīrta, bizīr, (3) giraga, agiriṅ, gibta, bigir
take away, to	baraga, abarīṅ, burta, beber
take out, to	dar gejaga, dar agejīṅ, dar getka, dar gej
take down, to	īr gejaga, īr agejīṅ, īr getka, īr gej
tall	burz
talur (jungle fowl)	charz, karwānak
tamarind	chīchar
tamarisk	gaz
tank	wateg, talamb
target	nishān
taste	pichak
taste, to	dapa kanaga
tea	chā
tear, to	diraga, adirīn, dirta, bidir
telescope	dīrgind
tent	tambū
thence	achudā, ashudā

thief	duzd
thin (animal or man)	lāgar
thin (rope, wire, &c.)	bārig
thin (any flat thing)	tanak
than	ash
that (demonstrative)	ā
that very (demonstrative)	hamā
that (relative)	keh
that (conjunction)	keh
thick	zand
thigh	leng
thing	chī
think I (probably)	(1) geshtar, *e. g.* geshtar chosh iṅ, I think it is so (2) mana dila (in my mind) *e. g.* mana dila chosh iṅ, I think it is so
third, the	saimī
third, a	saiek
thirsty	tūnag
this	e, esh
this very	hame, hamesh
this side	edem
thorn	kuntag
thou	to, tau
throw, to	daur deaga
throw away	daur deaga, chagal deaga
throw away liquids	rechaga, arechiṅ, retka, rech
thumb	lankuk
thunder	grund, hūrā
thread	bandik, bandī
throat	gardin
thus	chosh, cho
tick, a	kitag
tie, to	bandaga, abandiṅ, basta, beband
tiger	pulank
tight	trund
time (period)	wahdi, wakt (rare)
time (once, twice, &c.)	bār, bar, barī
tin	kalai-inch, kalī
tired	dam burtag
tire to (intrans.)	dam baraga.
to	(1) Dative case or (2) tā ; tā is used when speaking of two places or objects, in the sense of from one *to* the other. He went to Pusnee : ā Pasnīa shuta. He went from Gwadur *to* Pusnee ; ā ash Gwādar tā Pasnī shuta. How far is it from here to Gwādur ? Azhdā tā Gwadur chunt dīr iṅ ?
tobacco	tambāk
today	marochī
toe	lankuk
together with	goṅ, go, lūra, yessara
tomorrow	bāṅdād
tongue	zuwān
tonight	īshap
tooth	dant
top	sar
tortoise	kāsib

touch, to	lagaga, alagīn, lagita, belag
towards	nemaga
town	shahr
trader	saudāgar
tree	drāch, drachk
trees, grove of	bal
trees, babul	chish, tish
trees, lote	kunār (Hind., ber)
trees, date	mach, machī
trees, banian	karag
trousers	shalwār
turban	pāg
turmeric	halagdār, halidār
turn, to	taraga, atarīn, tarita, pitar
turtle	kāsīb

U.

uncle	nākū
under	chīra, buna
understand, to	(1) defective verb; *aorist*, man, to, &c.,sarpad abai *or* sarpad abīn; *preterite*, man, to &c., sarpad būta. (2) zānaga, azānīn, zānta, bezān
unfasten	pach kanaga, bojaga
up	bālā
upon	sara, sarbarā
use	kār
useful, to be	kār aiaga

V.

vacant	hurk
vein	rag
very	sak
victuals	waragī, warag
village	shahr
visible	pedā, pedāg, gindagī
vomit	shānag
vomit, to	shānag kanaga.
vulture	gij, getī

W.

wages	pagār
waist	thren
wake, to	pāda kanaga
walk, a	sail, sel
walk, to	pāda roaga
walk about, to	taraga, atarīn, tarita, pitar
wall	dīwār
war	jang
warm	garm
wash, to	shodaga, ashodīn shodita *or* shushta, pushod
washerman	gudshod
wasp	gwodar, nāi gwamz
watch, a	sāat
water	āp
wax	mom
we	amā, mā
wear, to, on the body	gwara kanaga
wear, to, on the legs or feet	pāda kanaga
week	hapta, hafta
weigh, to	shāhima kashaga; *e. g.* weigh this, shāhima pekanish, *or* eshirā shāhima kan pekash
well (water)	chāh
well (not	ūr, drohā

west	roīrsht, magrab
wet	tar
wet, to make	pulenaga, apulenīṅ pulenta, pulen
wet, to become	pulaga, apulīṅ, pulita, pul
whale	ābro, lil
what	che
wheat	gandīn, gala
wheel	chark
when?	kadīṅ
when	harwahdi
whence	ash kujā
where	kujā, with verb "to go" kujā angū, where are you going? kujā āngū aroe?
which	kujān, kudān
whip	chābuk
white	ispet
who?	kai?
who (relative)	keh
whole, the	drai; all day, drai-iṅ roch
why?	parcha?
wide	prāh
wife	zāl, gis
wind	gwāt
wind, hot	lewār
wind, sea	shumāl
wine	sharāb
winter	zimistān
wise	akalwand, pahamdār, hoshī
with	goṅ, go, lūra
without	bagar
witness	shāhid
wolf	gwark
woman	janīn
wood	dār
wool	pazhm
work	kār, izmat
world	dunyā
worm	kirm
worms, the (disease)	gwag
worn out	halās
wound, a	tap
wrist	dasta much
write, to	nimishta kanaga, or novīsta kanaga
wrong	rad

Y.

year	sāl
yellow	zard
yes	hā, āh, hau
yesterday	zī
yet	tanagī, tanageī
you	shumā
young	warnā

A.

a	prefix to aorist tenses of verbs			
a or ā	termination of dative and accusative case			
ā	he, that (demonstrative)	آن	ān	P.
ābro	a whale	آب رو	āb ro, going in water	P.
āch, ās	fire			
ach *v.* ash				
achār	a sail			
achidā, ashidā, azhdā	from here		ach and idā	
achudā, ashudā	from there, thence		ach and udā	
ād kanaga	to make, prepare, to repair	ادا	āmāda, prepared adā, fulfilment	P. A.
ādem *v.* dem	on that side			
afiān	opium	افیون	afyawn	A.
agār, agar	if	اگر	agar	P.
agl, akl	sense, understanding	عقل	ع akl	A.
āh, hā, hau	yes	هاَو	hāo	S.
āhar	summer	حرّ	harr, heat	A.
āhin	iron	آهن	āhan	P.
āhinjag	a string for fastening trowsers.			
aiaga, aiīn *or* akaiīn, āta, ātka *or* at, biā	to come	آمدن	āmadan	P.
ajab	wonderful	عجب	ع ajab	A.
ak	lime	آهک	āhak	P.
akalwand	clever	عقلمند	ع āklmand	P.A.
akl *v.* agl				
albat	indeed, certainly	البتہ	albatta	A.
alla	God	اللہ	alla	A.
amā, mā	we	ما	mā	P.
ānār	pomegranate	انار	ānār	P.

anāmat kanaga,	to lend (anything except money)	امانت	amānat, a deposit	A.
angar	still, more, encore			
angur	a grape	انگور	angūr	P.
anjīr	a fig	انجير	anjīr	P.
āp	water	آب	āb	P.
āpus, āps	pregnant (animals)			
āraga, ārīn *or* akārīn, aurta, biār	to bring	آوردن	āwardan	P.
ārt	flour	آرد	ārd	P.
arzi	a petition	عرضي	ع arzī	A.
ās *v.* āch				
āsān	cheap, easy	آسان	āsān, easy	P.
ash, ach, azh	from, by, with	از	az	P.
ashā	the prayer time in evening, about 1 hour after sunset	عشاء	ع ishā	
ashidā *v.* achidā				
ashudā *v.* achudā				
āsk, au	a deer	آهو	āhū	P.
āsmān	the sky	آسمان	āsmān	P.
asr	the prayer time, about 2 hours before sunset	عصر	ع asr	A.
ātārag	the early dawn			
aurta *v.* āraga		آورده	āwarda	P.
awwal	first, before (adverb of time)	اوّل	awwal	A.
azh *v.* ash				
azhdā *v.* achidā				

B.

bachak	boy, child, infant	بچه	bacha	P.
bad deaga	to abuse	بد	bad, wicked, bad	P.
bad gwashaga	to abuse			
bad	the back (of the body)			
bādām	almond	بادام	bādām	P.
bādshāh	a king	بادشاه	bādshāh	P.

badūk	a name given to several places on sea coast where the beach is impassable at high tide from the sea rising up to the feet of the hills running parallel to the shore			
bag	a herd of camels, any number of camels together grazing, in a baggage train, &c. &c.	وَگ	wagu	S.
bāg	a garden	باغ	bāgh	P.
bāgpān	a gardener	باغبان	bāghbān	P.
bagal	an armpit	بغل	baghl	A.
bagar	without, except	بغير	baghayr	A.
baho kanaga v. bhai kanaga	to sell	بيع كردن	bai ع kardan	P.
baho kanūk	a seller			
bakshaga, abakshīn, bakshita, bebaksh	to give, to forgive	بخشيدن	bakhshīdan	P.
bakshish	a gift	بخشش	bahkshish	P.
bal	a grove of trees	بيلو	belo forest	S.
bāl kanaga v. bālā	to fly			
bālā	up, above	بالا	bālā	P.
bālād	height	بالای	bālāī	P.
balī	but	بلکہ	balki	P.
baluk	a grandmother			
bān	a mud house	بام	bām, a roof	P.
band	a knot, joint, any joint of the body	بند	band	P.
bandād	tomorrow	بامداد	bāmdād, in the morning	P.
bandaga, abandīn, basta, beband v. lagaga	to tie, to fasten (by binding), to shut up, to stop (a road)	بستن	bastan	P.
bandi v. bandīk				
bandik, bandī	string, cotton, thread	بند	band, a fastening	P.

bāngū	a cock fowl			
bańz	a hawk	باز	bāz	A. P.
bāp	steam	بھاپہ	bhāph	H.
bār	a load, a time (occurrence)	بار	bār	P.
bār, bar, barī	a time (occurrence)			
barābar *or* bereber	equal	برابر	barābar	P.
baraga, abarin, burta, beber	to take away, to learn	بردن	burdan	P.
bārig	thin (applied to round objects *v.* tanak and lāgar)	بارک	bārik	P.
barot *v.* barūt				
barp	ice, snow	برف	barf	P.
barūt, barot	a moustache	بروت	burūt	P.
barwār	baggage, consisting of household goods and accompanied by women and children			
bas	enough	بس	bas	P.
bashkaga, abash kīn, bashkita, bebashk	to give, to forgive		*v.* bakshaga	
bat	a duck	بط	bat	A.
bāz	abundant, many, much			
bāzār	market	بازار	bāzār	P.
bāzk	an arm	بازو	bāzū	P.
be	prefix, meaning "without"			
beadabī	impudence, impoliteness	بے ادب	beadab	P.
becham	blind		*v.* be & cham	
begā	the period from about 2 p.m. till sunset	بیگاہ	begāh, evening	P.
begunā	innocent	بیگناہ	begunāh	P.
behaiyāl, bīaga	to forget		*v.* haiyāl	
benag	honey			
benaga makask	a bee			
beparwā	careless	بے پروا	beparwā	P.
bereber *v.* barābar				
betowār	quiet, noiseless			

bewukūf	fool, foolish	بیوقوف	bewukūf	P.
bhāī kanaga v. baho kanaga	to sell			
bhāī kanūk v. baho kanūk	a seller			
bīakl	mad		v. akl	
bihisht	heaven	بہشت	bihisht	P.
bil	imperative of līaga			
birinj v. brinj				
bizar	spices	بزر	bazr	A.
bo	smell, scent	بو	bū, bo	P.
bo kanaga	to smell			
bog	a knuckle			
bojaga, abojīṅ, bohta or botka, boj	to open, to unfasten, to unload a camel			
bor	brown			
bot, but	a louse			
bowāt	a kind of salt grass			
brās, brāt	brother	برادر	baradar	P.
brijaga, abrijīṅ, brihta, brij	to cook, to roast			
brinj, birinj	brass, rice	برنج	{ birinj, rice burinj, brass	P. P.
bū v. bo	smell, scent			
bū kanaga v. bo kanaga	to smell			
būch	dried grass (sweet)			
budaga, abudīṇ, budita, bud	to sink, to set (the sun)			
bujī, buch	a cork	بنجي	buṅjī	S.
bulando	a sword fish			
bulbul	nightingale	بلبل	bulbul	P.
bun, būn	a one, a unit (of trees)			
buna	below, beneath	بن	bun, root, basis	P.
bunag	baggage			
buraga, aburīṅ, burita, bubur	to cut	بریدن	burīdan	P.
burwān	eyebrow	برو	baru	P.
burz (adj. or adv.)	high, tall	برز	burz	P.
but	an idol, a louse	بت	but, idol	P.

buz	a she-goat; kohī buz, a hill-goat (female)	بز	buz	P.

C.

chā	tea	چا	chā	P.
chābuk	a whip	چابک	chābuk	P.
chādar	a sheet	چادر	chādar	P.
chagal deaga	to throw away			
chagū	a lark (bird)	چکوک	chagūk	P.
chāh, chāt	a well	چاه	chāh	P.
chāin	a tame pigeon			
cham	an eye	چشم	chashm	P.
chama kos	an eyelid			
chama siyāhag	the pupil of the eye		*v.* cham & siyā	
chamidā	hence (for ach hamidā)			
chamudā	thence (for ach hamudā)			
chandaga, achandīṅ, chandita, chand	to shake (intransitive)			
chandenaga, achandenīṅ, chandenta, chanden	to shake (transitive)			
chāṅk	a piece of steel for striking fire from flint			
chankū	a penknife	چاکو	chākū	P.
chap	the left hand	چپ	chap	P.
chār	four	چهار	chahār	P.
chār-dantāni	a camel 6 to 7 years old, having 4 teeth		*v.* chār & dant	
charaga, acharīṅ, charta, bechar	to graze	چریدن	charīdan	P.
chāraga, achārīṅ, chārita bichār	to look, to observe	بچارنا	bichārnā, to consider	H.
		چارالن	chārālanu, to spy out	S.
chārek	quarter	چهاریک	chahār yak	P.
chark	an engine, a wheel, a grindstone	چرخ	charkh	P.
chārmī	the fourth	چهارم	chhārum	P.

charp	fat (substantive)	چرب	charb	P.
charz	a bustard, obārah			
chashmak	spectacles	چشمک	chashmak	P.
che	what	چه	che	P.
chedag	a small pile of stones put in a conspicuous place to mark the road amongst hills			
chī, chīz	a thing	چیز	chīz	P.
chīchar	a tamarind			
chil	dirt, dirty			
chīlag	a rope made of peesh			
chinkā *v.* chunt		چه قدر	chi kadr	P.
chīra	beneath	زیر	zer	P.
chirat	a cricket			
chirāg	a lamp	چراغ	chirāgh	A.
chīrmāt	a sucking camel, less than 1 year old		name signifies "under the mother," *v.* chīra and māt	
chis kanaga, *or* chista kanaga	to lift, to raise			
chish, tish	a Babul tree			
chit	a rope of any kind			
chīzī	some, something			
cho *v.* chosh	thus	چو	chū, like	P.
choan *v.* chonī				
chonī, choan	how	چون	chūn	P.
chosh	thus, cho and ish	چو	chū, like	P.
chot	crooked	چوک	chok; a knee, genuflexion	P.
chūn	lime	چونا	chūna	H.
chunt, chinka	how many, how much	چند	chand	P.

D.

dāchī	a female camel more than five years old	داچي	dāchī	S.
dagār	a field			
dahikān	agriculturist, farmer	دهخان	dihkhān	P.

dajuk	a hedgehog			
dak, dāk	a plain	دک	dak, a desert	P.
dalwat *v.* rastar	an animal (if halāl)			
dam baraga	to become tired	دم	dam, breath	P.
dam burtag	tired			
dam kanaga	to rest			
dan	barren, outside			
dans	a sand or dust storm			
dandū	a beetle	ڏِنڍڻُ	dhindinu	S.
dang	a horse fly			
dant	a tooth	دند	dand	P.
dap	the edge (of a knife, &c.), a mouth, a lid	دهن	dahan mouth, cover of a vessel, edge of a sword, &c.	P.
dapa kanaga	to taste			
dapī	a lid			
dar, *v* darāī				
dār	wood, a stick			
dar aiaga *v.* dar kapaga	to come out, to start, to rise (the sun)			
dāraga, adārīn, dāshta, bedār	to halt, to stop, to hold, to keep	داشتن	dāshtan	P.
darāī, dar, dan	outside, out	در	dar (sometimes meaning "out")	P.
darap	the place where anything is kept; *e.g.* masa darap, an inkstand			
dārchīnī	cinnamon	دارچيني	dārchīnī	P.
dard	pain	درد	dard	P.
dar gejaga, dar agejīn, dar getka, dar gej	to take out from anywhere, to find by seeking			
darī	a window, *i.e.* a hole made in the side of a mat house for ventilation	دريچه	darīcha	P.
dar kapaga *v.* dar aiaga	to come out, to go out, to start;			
darmān *v.* dharm	medicine			

darog	false, a lie	دروغ	durogh	P.
darogband	a liar			
darog bandaga	to lie, to tell untruth (darog gwashaga is not used)			
dārū	gunpowder	دارو	dārū	P.
dārwar *v.* dār and waraga	a white ant, meaning a "wood-eater"			
daryā	the sea	دریا	daryā	P.
daryāi sochāko *v.* sochsko	a jelly fish with long stinging streamers, meaning "sea hornet"			
dās	a knife for cutting grass			
dasmāl	a handkerchief	دستمال	dastmāl	P.
dast	a hand	دست	dast	P.
dasta dil *v.* pādadil	the palm of the hand, meaning "heart of the hand"			
dasta much *v.* pāda much	the wrist			
dāta, *v.* deaga		داده	dāda	P.
dāto	a flying column of sand, Sind devil			
daur	a mast			
daur deaga	to throw away	دور	dūr, far daur, a revolution	P. P.
daur kanaga	to jump			
dāwā *v.* dharm	medicine (this word rarely used)	دوا	dawā	
deaga, adeiṅ, dāta, bedī	to give	دادن	dādan	P.
dem	the face	دیم	dīm	P.
dema	before, beyond (from dem)			
dema deaga	to send			
der	delay, late	دیر	der, dīr	
dero	a compass	دور	daur, a circle	P.
deūk	a giver		agent noun from deaga	P.
dharm	medicine			

digar	other, another	دگر	digar	P.
dil	breast, chest, mind, heart	دل	dil; mind, heart, soul	P.
dila baraga *v.* behaiyāl	to forget			
dilūl	the spleen (disease)	تلي	tilī	S.
dīr *v.* dūr	distant, far	دريدن	darīdan	P.
diraga, adirīn, dirta, bedir	to tear			
dīrgind *v.* dīr and gindaga	a telescope			
dīt	smoke	دود	dūd	P.
dīwār	a wall	ديوار	dīwār	P.
do	two	دو	do, dū	P.
dochaga, adochīn, dotka, dochita *or* dohta, bedoch	to sew	دوختن	dūkhtan	P.
dochār kapaga	to meet face to face	دوچارزدن	dūchār zadan	P.
dohl	a drum	دهل	duhul	P.
dō-dantānī	having two teeth, a camel 5 to 6 years old		*v.* dant	
doin	both			
domī	the second	دومي	duwumī	P.
do-sarī	double (as work, expense, &c.)			
doshī	last night	دوش	dūsh	P.
dost	a friend, pleasing, pleasant mana dost in, I like it, it is pleasing to me	دوست	dūst	P.
do-tāl	double (as cloth)	دوتا	dota	P.
do-tāl kanaga	to double, to fold (cloth)			
dozak, doze	hell	دوزخ	duzakh	P.
drāch, drachk	a tree	درخت	darakht	P.
drai	the whole (takes inflection in)		contraction of drohā	
drāj	long	دراز	darāz	P.
dranjaga, adranjīn, drāhta, dranjita *or* dratka, bedranj	to hang up			

drinag, drīnuk	a rainbow			
drohā	all; well, in good health (when meaning "all" takes inflection iṅ)			
drushaga, adrushīn, drushta, bed rush	to grind	درس	dars, beating, thrashing	A.
drust	all	درست	durust, entire, complete	P.
dunyā	the earth, the world	دنیا	dunyā	P.
dunyādār	rich	دنیادار	dunyādār	P.
dukān	a shop	دوکان	dūkān	P.
dupī	a cloak			
dūr, dīr	far, distant	دور	dūr	P.
dūr kanaga	to take off from anything, to remove			
dushmān	an enemy	دشمان	dushmān	P.
duzd	a thief	دزد	duzd	P.
duzd kanaga	to rob, steal			
duzdī	theft, robbery			

E.

e, esh	this			
edem	this side, this direction		*v.* dem	

F.

falān	certain, a certain one	فلان	fulan	A.
fazūr	(adj) fat	فربه	farba	P.
fursāt	leisure	فرصت	fursat	A.

G.

gad	a hill sheep. There is some uncertainty as to the meaning of this word. It is said by some to be synonymous with gurānd, by others to be the female hill sheep, whilst others again use it indiscriminately for either sex			
gala *v.* gandīn		غلّه	ghalla, corn	A.

galena, agalenin, galenta, galen *or* gali	to drive away			
gamish	a buffalo	گاومیش	gāomesh	P.
gandag	bad (applied to anything, road, man, &c., not used as *ganda* in Persian)	گنده	ganda	P.
gandal	bedding, clothes			
gandin, gala	wheat	گندم	gandum	
ganok	a fool			
gar	leprosy, mange, secondary symptoms	گر	gar, scab, mange	P.
gār būaga	to be lost			
gardin	the neck	گردن	gardan	P.
garī	a leper; afflicted with an infectious skin disease		*v.* gar	
garīb	poor, tractable, mild	غریب	gharīb	A.
garm	hot, warm	گرم	garm	P.
garmāg	heat, the summer	گرما	garmā	P.
gasht	a tour (of inspection &c.)	گشت	gasht	P.
gat	stopped up, impassable (as a road by mud, rocks, water, &c.); unattainable (as a place amongst hills which cannot be got at on account of obstacles in the way); stopped by any obstacle.			
gatur	a lamb between the gwark and gurānd stages			
gaz	the tamarisk	گز	gaz	P.
gechaga, agechīn, getka, gech	to strain, to sift		*v.* gechin	
gechin	a sieve	گیچن	gechanu	S.
gesh, geshtar	more	بیش	bīsh	P.
geshtar	more; probably, most likely, I think			
getī, gij	a vulture	گد	gid	P.
gil	mud	گل	gil	P.
gīn	breath			

gindaga, agindīn, dīsta, dīta, begind	to see, to perceive	دیدن دسن	dīdan disanu	P. S.
giraga, agirīn, gibta, bigir	to catch, seize	گرفتن	giriftan	P.
girān	dear, expensive, heavy	گران	girān	P.
gird	round	گرد	gird	P.
girok, girūk	lightning	برق	bark	A.
gis	a house, wife and family			
gīwār	the parting of the hair			
go, goṅ	with, in company, in possession of	با	bā	P.
gokin, goko	a porpoise	خوک‌دریا	khuki daryā (sea hog) porpoise	P.
gokindār, gundār	a tumble-dung beetle	گوگردانک گوگار	gūgirdānak gūgār, a beetle	P. P.
goko *v.* gokin				
gokurt	sulphur	گوگرد	gūgird	P.
goṅ, go	with, in company, in possession of		*v.* go	
gor	a Bunniah	گور	gawr infidel, pagan, gūebre	P.
gorung, gwurm	a herd of cows	گورم	goramu	S.
gosh	an ear	گوش	gosh	P.
gosh dāraga	to listen	گوش داشتن	gosh dāshtan	P.
gosht	flesh, meat	گوشت	gosht	P.
grādaga, agrādīṅ, grāditaor grāsta, begrad	to cook, to boil			
grampāg *or* garmpāg	prickly heat			
granz, grānz	a nostril			
greaga, grewuṅ, greta, bigrī	to cry	گریستن	giristan	P.
grumpug	the small-pox			
grund	thunder	غرنبش	g̱hurumbish	P. A
gud	after ; cloth, clothes			
gudāṅ, gudīṅ	after, afterwards	بعد	baʿd	A.
gudshod	a washerman		*v.* gud & shogada	

gul	a cheek	گل	galu	S.
gulāb	rose water	گلاب	gulāb	P.
gunā	crime, fault	گناه	gunāh	P.
gundār v. gokindār				
gung	dumb	گنگ	gung	P.
gurāg	a crow	غراب زاغ	zāgh, ghurāb	A.
guraga, agurīn, gurita, gur	to growl (dog)	غریدن	gharīdan	P.
gurāgū	a sandpiper			
gurānd	a male sheep, full grown, ram	گوسفند	gūsfand, a sheep	P.
gurak	a shell			
guzhnag	hungry	گرسنه	gurusna	P.
gwag	the worms (disease)	خرک	khark, maw-worm	P.
gwahar	ague, intense cold			
gwahār	sister	خواهر	khwāhar	P.
gwālag	a goat-hair bag			
gwamz, gwabz	a bee, hornet, wasp	زنبور	zambūr	P.
gwān kanaga	to call	بانگ	bāng voice, cry, shout	P.
gwand	short (applied to inanimate objects)	گندو	gando	S.
gwar	breast (man or woman)	خرک	khark	P.
gwara	in possession of			
gwara kanaga v. pāda kanaga	to wear, to put on (any clothing for the body)			
gwarag, gwark	a sucking lamb			
gwarbām	the period from about 1 hour before daylight to the first dawn			
gwarband	the band passing under a camel's neck and fastened to front of the saddle			
gwark v. gwarag	a wolf, a sucking lamb	گرگ	gurg, a wolf	P.
gwarm	surf			

gwashaga *or* gushaga, ag-washīṅ, *or* agushīṅ gwashta, gushta, *or* gū, begwash *or* bugush	to say, to speak, to tell, sometimes to think, to suppose	گفتن	guftan	P.
gwashūk	a speaker		agent noun from gwashaga	
gwashtag *v.* gwastag	spoken			
gwask	a calf			
gwastag	gwashtag, the last or past (year, week, &c.)	گذشته	guzashta	P.
gwāt	wind	باد	bād	P.
gwāzī	play, game	بازی	bāzī	P.
gwāzī kanaga	to play			
gwodar	a wasp			
gwurm *v.* gorung				

H.

hā *v.* āh				
habar	speech, language, news	خبر	khabar, news, report	P.
habar kanaga	to speak			
habar zīraga	to obey			
had	a bone	هدّی	haddī	H. S.
haftā *v.* haptā				
hāga būaga	to be awake			
haik	an egg	خاگ	khāg	P.
haiyāl būaga	to remember (with dat. case of pers. pronouns)	خیال	khayāl meditation, reflection	P.
haiyāl kanaga	to look			
hajjām	barber	حجّام	hajjām	A.
hak	rights, deserts	حقّ	hakk	A.
hāk	dust, earth, sand	خاک	khāk	P.
hāl, hāli nok	news	حال	hāl	A.
halagdār, halidār	turmeric		haldī H. with dār	

halāk	annoyance	هلاک	halāk	P.
halās	finished, worn out	خلاص	khalās, release, liberty	A.
halidār *v.* halag-dār				
halk	a small collection of huts	حلقه خلق	halka, a circle khalk	A. A.
ham	also, prefix meaning "very"	هم	ham	P.
hamā	that very, that		*v.* ā	
hama, hamuk	all, every	همه	hama	A.
hamb	a mangoe	انبه	amba	P.
hame, hamesh	this very, this		*v.* e, esh	
hamidā *v.* hamingū				
hamingū hamidā	here, in this very place		*v.* ingū, idā	
hamrā	along with	همراه	hamrāh	P.
hanch *v.* hancho				
hancho, hanch,	as, like as	همچو	hamchū	P.
hanchoshī	anyhow, somehow			
handaga, ahandīn, handita, behand	to laugh	خندن	khandan	P.
hanīṅ, hanūṅ	now, immediately	هاني	hāne	S.
hanūṅ *v.* hanīṅ				
hāps, hāsp	a horse	اسپ	āsp	P.
hāpsa surahur	a horsekeeper, groom	سرا خور	sarakhwur, master of the horse	P.
hapta, hafta	a week	هفته	hafta	P.
haptār	a hyena	کفتار	kaftār	P.
har	a donkey	خر	khar	P.
hār, har	every	هر	har	P.
har-wahdī	when, whenever, sometimes		*v.* wahdī	
harāb	bad	خراب	kharāb	P.
haraka	hydrophobia	هڈکيو	hadkyo	S.
harch	expense	خرج	kharch	P.
har-che-bebīd	anyhow, somehow		har-che-bebīd, literally "whatever may be"	
harrat	a saw, a toothed saw-like knife for cutting grass	ارّه	arrah	P.

hasag	a spoon	خاشوق	khāshūk	A.
hashag	a kind of salt grass			
hasīr	a grass mat	حصیر	hasīr	P.
hāsp *v.* hāps				
hau *v.* āh				
haur	rain			
hayā	shame, modesty	حیاء	hayā	A.
hayā kan! hayā!	make haste!	حیّ	hayya	A.
hich	none, nothing	هیچ	hīch	P.
hidrik	a squirrel			
hīk	a boar	خوک	khūk	P.
himmatdār	strong (applied to human beings and animals)	همّت	himmat	A.
hīng	assafœtida	هینگ	hīng	H.
hīr	a sucking camel			
hisāb	account (money), bill	حساب	hisāb	A.
hosh	sense, understanding	هوش	hosh	P.
hoshī	wise, clever			
hudā	God	خدا	khudā	P.
hudāī sarin	adjuration meaning "I swear"			
hukm	an order	حکم	hukm	A.
hūl	booty, loot, robbery			
hūl kanaga	to rob, to loot			
hūn	blood murder, blood-mo-[ney	خون	k̲h̲ūn	P.
hurā	thunder			
hurjin	a saddle bag	خرزین	kharzīn	S.
hurjinaga, ahurjinīn, hurjinta, hurjin	to pull, to haul			
hurk	empty			
hurk kanaga	to make empty			
hurmāg	dried dates	خرما	k̲h̲urmā	P.
hushk	dry	خشک	k̲h̲ushk	P.
hushkī roaga	to travel by land			
hushkunag	a chisel			
hushtera, hushter.	a camel (of any kind)	اشتر	ushtur	P.
hushterī	a camel-man			
hushyār	active, clever, intelligent	هوشیار	hoshyār	P.

I.

idā *v.* ingū			idhār hidhāṅ	H. S.
ilm	knowledge	علم	ع ilm	A.
inchrukī, inchkī	a very little			
ingū, idā	here			
inkā	thus much	این قدر	īn kadr	P.
insāf	justice	انصاف	insāf	A.
īr būaga	to be placed	زیر	zīr, uuder	P.
īr kanaga	to put down, to place, to lay down			
īr kapaga	to come down, to go down into any place, to leave a place, to descend			
īr-gejaga, īr-agejīṅ, īr-getka, īrgej	to take down			
īr rechaga	to pour into anything (as water into a glass)		*v.* rechaga	
irāda	intention	اراده	irāda	A.
īshap	to-night	امشب	imshab	P.
ishkār, ishkar	charcoal	اشقره	ashkara, an extinguished firebrand	P.
isht	a brick	خشت	khisht	P.
ishta	preterite of līaga			
ishtāp	hurried, in a hurry, hurry	شتاب	shitāb	P.
ishtāpī	haste, hurry			
ispet	white	سفید	sufed	P.
ispetiṅ pas	a sheep			
istār, tārī	a star	استاره	istāra	P.
istal	a mule	استر	astar	P.
istīn	a black cloud			
istrag	a razor	استره	ustara	P.
īt *v.* isht	a brick	اینٹ	īnt	H.
izhbar, izhbī	ever, at any time, used in conjunction with *na* to express "never"		for hich bar	
izmat	work, labour		literally "a worker"	
izmat-kanūk	industrious			

J.

jā, jāga	a place	جا	jā	P.
jādū	a grebe			
jāga *v.* jā		جاگہ	jāga	H.
jagar	liver	جگر	jigar	P.
jāhil	ignorant	جاهل	jāhil	A.
jālā, jhālā, jāhlā	down (direction)			
jāmag	a shirt	جامہ	jamā, a garment	P.
jān	the body, life, soul	جان	jān	P.
jān kāhil *or* kāhil	idle	کاهل	kāhil	A.
janaga, ajanīn, jata *or* jat, bejan	to beat, to strike, to fire (a gun)	زدن	zadān	P.
jang	war, quarrel, fight	جنگ	jang	P.
jang kanaga	to fight			
jangalī bat	a quail		*v.* bat	P.
janik	a daughter, a girl	زنک	zanik, a little woman	P.
janīn	a woman	زن	zan	P.
jantar	a mill, a machine	جنتر	jantr, a machine	H.
jarī	a sucking camel under 1 year old			
jast	zinc	جست	jast	H.
jauzi-būak	a nutmeg	جوز بویہ	jauzi buya	A.
jawāb	an answer	جواب	jawāb	P.
jimāz *v.* sawār	mounted (on a camel)			
jind	the body, the whole person			
jo	barley	جو	jo	P.
jokinaga, ajokinīn, jokinta, bejokin	to make a camel sit down			
joko	responsibility, risk	جوکہون	jokhoṅ, risk, venture, danger	H. S.
juhl	deep			
juhlī	depth			
jul	carpet, covering for any animal, the carpet placed under a camel's saddle	جلّ	jull	A.

jur	a small nullah	جو	jū, a river	P.
jūr	well, in good health	زور	zūr, strength, vigour	P.
justa kanaga, *or* justo kanaga	to ask	جستن	justan	P.

K.

kā, kāwān	sweet grass	کاه	kāh	P.
kābū	perfect, excellent, proper	قابل	kabil, worthy, sufficient	A.
kabūl	agreement, agreed	قبول	kabūl	A.
kabūl kanaga	to agree			
kachal, kachar	a mule	کهچر	khacharu	S.
kadam	a step	قدم	kadam	A.
kadīṅ	when	کدهین	kadhīṅ	S.
kādo	a mussel			
kāfir	an infidel	کافر	kāfir	A.
kāfūr	camphor	کافور	kafūr	P.
kāgad	paper	کاغذ	kāg͟had	A.
kahawa	coffee	قهوه	kahwa	A.
kāhil	idle	کاهل	kāhil	A.
kahūr	a kind of tree (acacia) common in Mekran			
kai	who? (interrogative), whose	که	keh	P.
kaiil	a kind of shark			
kaipī	a drunkard	کیفی	kaiphī	S.
kak	a flea	کیک	kaik	P.
kāl	a kind of salt grass			
kal	a grave, a hole in the ground	قبر	kabr	A.
kala kanaga	to bury			
kalaiinch, kalī	tin	کلای	kalāī	H.
kalak	a cheek	گل	galu	S.
kalam	a pen	قلم	kalam	A.
kalampur	a clove	قرنفل	karanful	A.
kalar	salt earth	کلر	kalaru	S.
kalī *v.* mashk	a small mussack, made of the skin of a kid,			

kalī *v.* kalaiinch				
kālib	a bullet-mould	قالب	kālab	P.
keldār	a rupee	کلدار	kaldāru, name of a particular coiunge of rupees	S.
kam	small, less	کم	kam	P.
kam, kamk	a little, few, small quantity (takes inflection in)			
kamīr	a ploughshare			
kamk *v.* kam				
kanaga, akan-iň, kurta *or* kū, pekan, kan *or* bekan	to do	کردن	kardan	P.
kanda	a hole in the ground, a trench	کنده	kanda, ditch, fosse, moat	P.
kandā	name of a tree common in Mekrān			
kanda janaga	to dig a hole			
kandaga, akan-din, kandita, bekand *v.* handaga	to laugh	خندن	khandan	P.
kang	a heron, a crane	کلنک	kulank	P.
kangāl	poor	کنگال	kangālu	S.
kānt	a horn			
kap	foam, froth	کف	kaf	P.
kapag	a shoulder	کتف	kataf	A.
kapaga, akapīň, kapta, bekap	to fall, to happen, to occur			
kapi-daryā	the bone of the cuttle fish, meaning "sea foam"			
kapīnjar	a partridge			
kapodār	a wild pigeon	کبوتر	kabūtar	P.
kapot	a dove		do.	
kar	deaf	کر	kar	P.
kār	work, use, useful	کار	kār	P.
kār aiaga	to be useful			
kāraba	an inferior kind of dates generally packed in baskets			

karag	a banian tree			
karak	edge, margin			
kārch	a large knife	کارد	kārd	P.
kargoshk	a hare, wilaiyatī kargoshk, a rabbit	خرگوش	khargosh	P.
karī	deafness			
kārigar	a bullock			
karkink, karkiank	a bivalve shell			
karpās	cotton, cotton tree	کرپاس	karpās	H.
kas	any one, some one	کس	kas	P.
kassāb	butcher	قصّاب	kassāb	A.
kasān	little, small			
kasānin mushk	a mouse		*v.* mushk	
kash kanaga	to pull, to weigh in scales			
kashaga, akashīn, kashta, bekash	to pull, to take out from anywhere, to weigh in scales	کشیدن	kashīdan	P.
kāshī	a plate	کاشي	kāshī	P.
kāsib	a tortoise, turtle			
kastar	smaller, less; comparative of kasān			
katangar, katungar	a grouse			
kaush	a shoe	کفش	kafsh	P.
kāwān *v.* kā				
kāzī	a judge	قاضی	kāzī	A.
keh, (conjunction)	that			
keh, (relative pronoun)	that, who, which	که	keh	P.
kikata	a lobster			
kilāt	fort, city	قلعه	kila,ع a fort	A.
kilīt	a key	کلید	kilīd	P.
kīmat	price	قیمت	kīmat	A.
kīmat kanaga	to buy (zūraga generally used)			
kīnīch	coriander seed	کشنیج	kishnīj	P.
kir	the end, the edge, margin			
kiriyā, kire	hire	کرا	kirā	A.

kiriyā kanaga	to hire			
kirm	a worm	کرم	kirm	P.
kishaga, akishīn, kishta, bekish	to sow, to till, to dig	کشتن	kishtan	P.
kishk	a road, a path			
kismat	fate	قسمت	kismat	A.
kitāb	book	کتاب	kitāb	A.
kitag	a tick (insect)			
kītag *v.* kūtag				
kittā	a house lizard			
kodāl	a powrah	کودال	kodāl	P.
koh	a hill, mountain	کوه	koh	P.
kohī buz	a hill goat (female)		*v.* buz	A.
kohī pāchin	a hill goat (male)			
kohī gurānd	a hill sheep (male)			
kohr	a river, a nullah	خور	khaur	A.
kont	a bag made of carpet			
kopak	a shoulder		*v.* kapag	
kor	blind	کور	kūr	P.
koros, kurus	a cock, fowl	خروس	khuros	P.
kot	a fort	کوٹ	kot	H.
kowāt, kowānt	a male camel under five years old	کنوات	kaṅwātu	S.
kubl	a lock	قفل	kufl	A.
kuch	a corner	کنج	kunj	P.
kuchak	a dog			
kūchig	country (as opposed to town)	کوچ	kūch, migration, decamping	P.
kuchk	small shells, cowries			
kudān *v.* kujān				
kujā	where	کجا	kujā	P.
kujā-āngū ?	where ? (interrogative, used with the verb "roaga")			
kūjān, kudān	which	کدام	kudām	P.
kuklī	a crab	کیکڑا	kekrā	H.
kukur	a fowl	ککر	kukiru	S.
kulā	cap, hat	کلاه	kulāh	P.
kulag	a cough			

kulunt	dates in the slightly red stage			
kumak	assistance	کمک	kumak	P.
kumak deaga	to assist			
kumb	a lake			
kunār	the lote tree (Hind. ber)	کنار	kunār	A.
kūnd	a knee			
kunt	blunt	کند	kund	P.
kuntag	a thorn, spine of a tree	کنٹک	kantak	H.
kupāt	a basket made of matting	پات	pātu	S.
kurakush	a cricket			
kurshī	a chair	کرشی	kurshī	A.
kurus, *v.* koros				
kushaga, akushiñ, kushta, pukush	to kill	کشتن	kushtan	P.
kusij	a cucumber			
kūtag, kītag	a water melon			
kutub	the north	قطب	kutb	A.
kwahn	old (applied to inanimate objects)	کہن	kuhan	P.

L.

lach, lachuk	a basket			
ladaga, aladiñ, ladita, belad	to load	لدن	ladanu	S.
ladok, ladūk	the long rope with 2 loops passing completely round a camel's load		literally "a loader," from ladaga"	
lagaga, alagiñ, lagita, belag	to strike against anything, to touch, to fasten on to anything (not by binding, *v.* bandaga), to hit a mark	لگن	laganu	S.
lagām	a bridle, reins	لگام	ligām	P.
lāgar	lean, thin, weak (applied to animate objects)	لاغر	lāghar	A.
lagat janaga	to kick	لکد	lakad	P.
lhar	boiling			
lahr deaga	to boil anything			

lahr būnga	to be boiling			
lahr kananga	to cause to boil			
laht	some, a few (takes inflection "iṅ")			
laj	shame, modesty	لج	laj	S.
lākaga, alākiṅ, lākita	to bark as a dog			
lākarī	a flamingo	لا کهيجا نجي	lākhejānji	S.
landin	a kind of salt grass			
lang	lame	لنگ	lang	P.
lankuh *v.* lankuk				
lankuk, lankuh	a finger; chukī lankuk, the little finger			
lāp	the abdomen, stomach, inside			
lāpa	inside			
lāpa dard	diarrhœa, dysentery; *e.g.* mani lāp dard akant, I have diarrhœa			
lāp murda	gripes	مُردہ	murda, dead *v.* lāp	P.
lashkar	army	لشکر	lashkar	P.
legār	dirt, dirty			
lekin	but	ليکن	lekin	P.
leng	a thigh			
lero	a male camel more than 5 years old	ليرو	lero	S.
lewar	hot-wind	لوه	lūh	S.
līnga, kilīṅ, aliṅ *or* alīīṅ, ishta, bil	to allow, permit ("don't let," "mail")	هليدن	hilīdan, to dismiss, abandon, quit	P.
lik kananga (imperative "lik kan," *or* "likkekan,") *or* mik kananga	to erect, to cause to stand up			
līmbāri	a jelly fish			
lira denga	to roll anything along			
līruk	an insect			
log	a house			
lor	a lobster			

lotainaga, alotainīṅ, lotainta, belotain	to demand			
lotaga, alotiṅ, lotita	to want, desire, wish for	لوچن	lochanu	S.
lotia	a khojah			
lugushaga, alugushiṅ, lugushta, lugush	to slip, to slide	لغزيدن	lag̲h̲zīdan	P.
lugushān	slippery	لغزان	lug̲h̲zān	P.
lunj	dark, darkness			
lunt	a lip			
lūr	a flying column of sand; Sind devil			
lūr kanaga	to mix			
lūra	along with			
lūrī	a blacksmith	لهر	luharu	S.

M.

mach, machi	a date tree			
madag	a locust, a prawn	ملخ	malakh, a locust; malak̲h̲i daryāī, a prawn	P.
mādag	female	ماده	māda	P.
mādagiṅ gok	a cow			
mādiān	a mare	ماديان	mādiyān	P.
māgīr	an eclipse, meaning "seizing the moon"			
magrab	the west. The prayer at sunset. The period from sunset till dark, the evening twilight	مغرب	mag̲h̲rib	A.
māh, mā	the moon, a month	ماه	māh	P.
māhala	early; soba māhala, early in the morning			
māhar	a camel's rein	مهار or ماهار	mahār or māhār	P.
māhi-kānī	moonshine			
māhi	fish	ماهی	māhi	P.
mahri	a riding camel	مهری	mahri	S.

maidāna roaga	to run			
majg	the brain	مغز	maghz	A.
makask	a fly	مگس	magas	P.
malām	a fine	ملام	malām, disgrace, blame	P.
malham	ointment	مرهم	marham	A. P.
malīr	a gull			
mān būaga	to remain in anything, to be left in a vessel, as water in a glass	مین	meṅ	S.
mān kanaga	to put into anything			
mān kashaga	to put things on board a ship			
mān gijaga, mān agijin, mān gitka, mān gij	to put into anything			
man	I, a weight of about seven pounds	من	man	P.
mana dila	in my mind. Used to express "I think," "I suppose"			
mānī	meaning	معنی	maʿnīy	A.
manjal	a cooking chattie			
manzil *v.* minzil				
mār	a snake	مار	mār	P.
mard	a husband	مرد	mard	P.
mardum	a man	مردم	mardum	P.
margu	the cholera	مری	marī	S.
marochī	today	امروز	imroz	P.
mās, māt	mother	ماتا	mātā	S.
mas	ink, the black fluid secreted by the cuttle fish	مس	mas, ink	S.
masdān	inkstand			
mashk *v.* kalī	a large mussuck	مشک	mashk	P.
mast	intoxication, lust			
mastar	larger, greater; comparative of *mazan*			
mātāpus *v.* māt and āpus	a camel 1 to 2 years old. Name signifies that the mother of the camel is this year again pregnant			

mausim	a season	موسم	mausim	A.
mawich	raisins	مویز	mawīz	P.
māzād	a camel 2 to 3 years old. The name signifies that the camel's mother produces young again this year; v. mās and Persian verb زایدن zāīdan, to bear. ماجاد mājādu, a young camel, S. مجاک majāku, a camel 2 to 3 years old, S.			
mazan	great, large			
mazanin gwarbām	the period from about 2 to 4 hours before daylight			
med	a fisherman	مي	meu	S.
meh	a nail (of iron), a tent peg	میخ	mekh	P.
men	mud			
mesh	a sheep of either sex, a hammer-headed shark	میش	mesh	P.
meshmurg	a pelican, meaning "the sheep bird." In Persian meshmurgh is a bustard			
metag	a house of any kind			
mezk	a kind of salt-grass			
miār	a beggar			
michāch	an eyelash	مچه	mucha	P.
migrāz	scissors	مقراض	mikrāz	A.
mihrbānī	kindness, mercy	مهربانی	mihrbānī	P.
mik kanaga (imperative mik kan *or* mikkekan) *v.* lik kanaga	to erect, to cause to stand up			
minzil, manzil	a stage, a day's journey	منزل	manzil	A.
miraga, amirīn, murta, bemir	to die	مُردن	murdan	P.
miraga, amirīn mirita, bemir	to fight,			

mittū	a parrot			
miyānji	in the middle	ميانگين	miyāngin	P.
moch kanaga	to collect			
mochi	shoemaker	موچى	mochi	H. S.
mohr	firm, tight, fastened			
mohukum	strong (applied to inanimate objects)	محكم	muhkam	A. P.
moko	a spider	مكڑى	makrī	H.
mom	wax	موم	mom or mūm	P.
mor	an ant	مور	mor	P.
moz, mwoz	plantain, banana	موز	mauz or mūz	A.
mozag	socks	موزه	muza	P.
mubdeī	a cook			
much *v.* dasta much, pād a much	a multitude. Hancho keh much, a very great many			
mūd, mīd	hair	مو	mū	P.
muhā kanaga	to forgive	معاف	muعāf, forgiveness	A.
muhr	a seal, a stamp	مهر	muhr	P.
muj	a dust-storm			
mulk	a country, an estate, a tract of land being cultivated by any one	ملك	mulk	A.
mundarī	a ring	مندری	mundrī	S.
murg	a bird	مرغ	murgh	A.
murtag *v.* miraga	dead	مرده	murda	P.
mushaga, amushīn, mushta, mush	to rub, to scrape			
mushk *v.* kasānin mushk	a rat	موش	mūsh, a mouse	P.
mushkul	difficult	مشكل	mushkil	A.
musht	a fist	مشت	musht	P.
muzātī	best kind of dates, generally packed in earthen chatties			
mwoz *v.* moz				

N.

na	not, no	نه	nah	P.
nā	ripe dates			
nādrohā	ill, unwell		*v.* drohā	

nādrohāī	illness, sickness			
nāfag	the navel	ناف	nāf	P.
nagd	cash, money	نقد	nakd	A.
nāhārī	first breakfast taken at sunrise or soon after	ناهاری	nāhārī	P.
nāhārīa wahdī	the period from about 1 to 2 hours after sunrise			
nāhun v. nākun				
nāi gwamz	a wasp		lit. "the date bee," v. nā	
nākū	an uncle			
nākun, nāhun	the nail (of finger or toe)	ناخن	nākhun	P.
nāl	a horse shoe	نعل	naʿl	A.
nālagīan	a cocoanut	نارجیل	nār jīl	A.
nāl band	a farrier	نعل بند	naʿlband	P.
nām	a name	نام	nām	P.
namb	dew, fog, mist	نم	nam, moisture, dew	P.
namūna	a drawing, pattern	نمونه	namūna, sample, like	P.
nān, nagan	bread	نان	nān	P.
nangār	a plough			
nap	gain, profit	نفع	nafʿ	A.
naram	soft	نرم	narm	P.
nārinj	an orange	نارنج	nāranj	A.
narmāni	a kind of shark			
nasīb	fate	نصیب	nasīb	A.
nāzurk	delicate	نازک	nāzuk	P.
nekiank	a hen fowl			
nemag	butter, a direction			
nemaga	towards			
neshī	a camel with tusks, camel 8 years old and upwards	نیش	neshu	S.
nīl	blue, indigo	نیل	nīl	P.
nīm	half	نیم	nīm	P.
nimāz	prayer, the morning just before sunrise	نماز	namāz	P.
nimishta kanaga v. novista kanaga				

nīmroch	noon	نیمروز	nīmroz	P.
nīmshap	midnight	نیم‌شب	nīmshab	P.
nindaga, anindīn, nishta, benind *or* mind	to live, to dwell, to stay, to sit	نشستن	nishastan	P.
nipāl, nipād	a quilt	نهالي	nahālī	P.
nishān	a mark, a target	نشان	nishān	P.
nīwag	fruit	میوه	mīwa	P.
nod	a light cloud, fog			
nohd	gram	نخود	nukhūd	P.
nok	new	نو	no	P.
noka	again, anew			
nokar	a servant	نوکر	naukar	P.
nokar kanaga	to employ, to engage			
nokarī	employment	نوکری	naukarī	P.
noshāter	sal ammoniac	نوشادر	naushādur	P.
novīsta kanaga *or* nimishta kanaga	to write	نوشتن	nawishtan	P.
nugra	silver	نقره	nukra	P.
nigrāig	made of silver			
nuksān, nuskān	loss	نقصان	nuksān	A.
nūn, nīn *v.* hanīn	now	{ هانی اکنون	hāne aknūn	S. P.

O.

o	and	و	o or wa	P.

P.

pach kanaga *or* pak kanaga	to open, to unfasten			
pāchin	a male goat; kohī pachin, a male hill goat			
pād	a foot, a leg	پا	pā	P.
pad, pada, rand	a footmark		*v.* rand	
pada	back (direction) meaning "in the track"		*v.* pad	
pāda aiaga	to awaken, to arise (intransitive.) Imperative pād ā			

pāda dil *v.* dasta dil	the sole of the foot (lit. the heart of the foot)			
pāda kanaga *v.* gwar kanaga	to awaken, (transitive) to wear (anything on the feet or legs)			
pāda much *v.* dasta much	the ankle			
pāda roanga	to walk, to go on foot			
pādāna shilanch	the knee cap		*v.* pād and shilānch	
padiānk	a ladder			
pāg	puggaree, turban	پاگ	pāg	S.
pagār	pay, wages	پگهار	paghāru	S.
pagās	a shark			
pahamdār	wise, clever	فهم	fahm, understanding	A.
pahk	clean	پاک	pāk	P.
pahlī	a rib	پهلو	pahlū	P.
paidag	gain, profit, advantage	فائده	fāida	A.
paima	like, similar, a style, manner	پائن	painu	S.
pairī *v.* parerī				
pākaro	a camel's riding saddle	پاکهرو	pakhiro	S.
pakīr	beggar	فقیر	fakīr	A.
pakkā	ripe, perfect	{ پکو	pako	S.
		پکا	pakka	H.
palwār	the pulla fish	پلو	palo	S.
pan	the leaf of a tree	پن	panu	S.
panch *v.* panj				
panchek	a fifth part	پنج یک	panj yak	P.
panchmī	the fifth	پنجمی	panjumī	P.
panj, panch	five	پنج	panj	P.
papuk	dates in the green stage			
par, pa	for	پارون	pāroṅ S. به ba	P.
pāra, pāro	mercury, quicksilver	پارو	pāro	S.
paramposhī	the third day hence			
parandoshī	the night before last			
parcha	why		par *and* che	
pārdin	a crupper	پاردم	pārdum	P.

parerī or pairī	the day before yesterday			
paridā	hereabouts, in this neighbourhood			
parwā	care	پروا	parwā	P.
pas	goat or sheep, siyāhiṅ pas, a goat ; ispetiṅ pas, a sheep			
pash kapaga	to remain, to be left over	پس	pas after	P.
pashāg	a cold			
pashtara	afterwards	پس	pas, after	P.
pāt	a basket, a bag made of matting	پات	pātu	S.
patāaga, apatāiṅ, patāta, patā	to roll up (as cloth)			
patak	short (a man)			
patāsī	a chisel	پتاسورنبو	patāso rambo	S.
patrūshag	a spark			
pātū	a moth	پتنگ	patangu	S.
pazhm	wool	پشم	pashm	P.
pedā, pedāg	visible	پیدا	paidā	P.
pelag	a bag			
perenaga, apereniṅ, perenta, peren	to cause to fall			
perenānaga, aperenāniṅ, perenānta, perenān	to cause to fall			
pesara	before (preposition or adverb of time)	پیش	pesh, before	P.
pesh parerī *or* pesh pairī	the third day past		*v.* pareri	
peshānī	forehead	پیشانی	peshānī	P.
peshtara	before (adverb, of time)	پیش	pesh	P.
petī	a box	پیتی	petī	S. II.
pezh dāraga	to show, to point out, to explain	پیش	pesh, before	P.
phul	a bridge	پول	pūl	P.
pichak	a taste, flavour			
pīl	an elephant	فیل	fīl	P.
pīla dant	ivory	دندان فیل	dandāni fīl	P.

pīmāz	an onion	پیاز	pīyāz	P.
pīnz	the heel			
pip	a cask	پیپا	pipā H. from English "pipe"	
pīr	old (men or animals)	پیر	pīr	P.
pirik	caterpillar, butterfly			
pīruk	grandfather			
pis, pit	father	پی or پتا	piu, pitā	S.
pish	the peesh plant (*Chamorops Ritchiana*, Grif). A fan like palm growing amongst the hills in Mekran, from which Beloochees manufacture matting, ropes, baskets, sandals, drinking cups, saddle, coverings, pipes, &c.	پیس	pisi	S.
pishta-parerī *or* pishta-pairī	the fourth day past		*v.* pashtara, parerī	
pishti-parampo-shī	the fourth day hence			
pisparandoshī	the third night past, *i. e.* the night before the night before last			
pit *v.* pis	a drop			
pitūkī	alum	پتکی	pitkī	S. H.
pogaz	dates partly red and partly ripe			
poṅ	dates or grain turned acid and unfit to eat, blighted			
poṅshī, *v.* poshī				
poshāk	clothes	پوشاک	poshāk	P.
poshī, poṅshī,	the day after tomorrow			
post	leather, skin	پوست	post	P.
poz	the nose	پوز	poz	P.
prāh	wide	فراخ پہن	pahn or farrākh	P.
prāhī	width, breadth			
prushaga, aprushiṅ, prushta, beprush	to break, to snap			

pugut	a frog			
puktāg	active	پخته	pukhta	P.
pul	booty	ڦر	phuri	S.
pulād	steel	پولاد	pūlād	P.
pulaga, apulīn, pulita, pul	to become wet			
pulenaga, apulenīn, pulenta pulen	to make wet, (causal verb of pulaga)			
pulank	a tiger	پلنگ	palank	P.
pur	full, ashes	پر	pur, full	P.
purāp	a female camel under 5 years old			
pūrī	a mosquito			
pūshī	a cat	ڦسي	phusī	S.
pusht	the back	پشت	pusht	P.
pushta	at the back of, behind		*v.* pusht	P.

R.

rā	a road, path	راه	rāh	S.
rā denga	to send			
rad	a mistake, wrong	ڏڌ	dadhi	S.
rad kanaga	to make a mistake, to do wrong			
rag	an artery, a vein	رگ	rag	P.
rago, ragū	a guinea-worm			
raht	a camel's baggage saddle			
rakam	a kind, a sort	رقم	rakam	A.
ramag	a flock of sheep or goats	رمه	rama	P.
rand	a foot-mark	رنڊ	randu	S.
randa *v.* rand	behind, after, last, (meaning "in the footsteps of")			
randa aiaga	to follow, to come in search of, to come after			
randa roaga	to follow, to go in search of, to go after			
rang	colour, paint	رنگ	rang	P.
rang denga	to paint			

rasaga, arasiñ, rasita *or* rasta, beras	to arrive. With the Dat. case of pers. pronouns "to find" as mana, tura, &c., rasita; I, thou &c., found or received it	رسیدن	rasidan	P.
rasānaga, arasāniñ, rasānta, berasān	to cause to arrive, to forward	رسانیدن	rasānīdan	P.
rāst	right, true, straight, the right hand	راست	rāst	P.
rastar	an animal			
razā, rāzī	contented	راضی	rāzī	A.
razā	leave	رضا	rizā	A.
razm	a camel 3 to 4 years old			
rechaga, arechiñ, retka, rech	to throw away, to empty (liquids)	ریختن	rekhtan	P.
rek	a sandy place, sandhills, sand	ریگ	reg	P.
resh	a sore	ریش	resh	P.
rez	a rope made of goat-hair			
reza	shot	ریزه	reza, scraps, crumbs	P.
rich	a bear	رچ	richhu	S.
rigit	a kind of salt grass			
rīsh	a beard	ریش	rīsh	P.
rizghgūk	a mungoose			
roaga, aroañ *or* areiñ, shuta, shut *or* shū, boro	to go	رفتن شدن	raftan shudan	P. P.
roba	a fox	روبه	rūba	P.
roch	a day, the sun, sunshine	روز	roz	P.
rod	copper			
rodarat *v.* roch and dar-aiaga	the east, meaning "Sun came out"			
rogan	oil, ghee	روغن	roghan	P.
rok kanaga	to light a lamp or fire	افروختن	afrokhtan	P.
roshanaii	the period just before sunrise	روشنائی	roshanāī, light	P.

roshanī (substantive)	light, brightness	روشنی	roshanī	P.
rotag	a root			
roūk	a goer, one going; as an adjective applied to a swift going camel		agent formed from roaga	
rub	a quarter	ربع	rubع	A.
rumīr	a white ant			

S.

sā'at	an hour, a clock, a watch	ساعت	sāعat	A.
sabab	account, reason	سبب	sabab	A.
sābun	soap	صابون	sābūn	A.
sabz	green	سبز	sabz	P.
sād	cord, rope of any kind			
safar	a journey	سفر	safar	A.
said	any kind of game (especially deer)			
saiek	a third part	سه یک	sih yak	P.
sail, sel	a walk	سیر	sair	A.
saimī	the third	سیمی	siyumī	P.
sak	hard, very	سخت	sa<u>kh</u>t, hard	P.
sāl	a year	سال	sāl	P.
sam	a cuttle-fish			
sāmān	baggage, things	سامان	sāmān	P.
sambālaga, asambālin, sambālita, sambāl	to take care	سبهالن	shambhālanu	S.
sar, sarag	head, end, top	سر	sar	P.
sar kapaga	to get over the top of anything, to climb up		*v.* sar and kapaga	
sara dard	headache	درد سر	dardi sar	P.
sara	above, over			
sarag *v.* sar				
saraga, asarin, sarita	to neigh	شخولیدن	sha<u>kh</u>ūlīdan	P.
saramsa	a camel's head gear			
sarand	a comb			
sarāp	quietly, secretly	سرّاً	sirran, quietly	A.

sarbarā	above, over		*v.* sar	
sard	cold (temperature)	سرد	sard	P.
sāriā	before (place), in front			
sarjā	a pillow		*v.* sar & jā	
sark	a road, footpath	سڑک	sarak	H.
sark giraga	to start off			
sarmāhar	the small string at the end of a camel's rein which is fastened round the piece of wood passing through the nose		*v.* sar & māhar	P.
sarpad-abai, sarpad-būta, &c.	I understand, defective verb: *vide* Grammar			
saudāgar	a merchant, trader	سوداگر	saudāgar	P.
saugind	an oath	سوگند	saugand	P.
saugind waraga	to swear		*v.* waraga	
sawār	a person mounted	سوار	suwār	P.
sawār būaga	to be mounted (on a horse) *v.* jimāz			
sawār kanaga	to mount or elevate anything, to hoist up on to anything			
sawās	the sandals made of peesh worn by Beloochees			
sel *v.* sail				
senag	the circle on a camel's breast	سينه	sina, breast	P.
selī	a camel's neck band			
shādu, shādī	a monkey	شادي	shādī	P.
shāgur	the jaw-bone			
shahid	a witness	شاهد	shāhid	A.
shāhim	scales (for weighing)	ساهمی	sāhimī	S.
shahr	a town, village	شهر	shahr	P.
shaira janaga	to sing	شعر	shiعr, poetry	A.
shak	a comb	شانه	shāna	P.
shakar	sugar	شکر	shakar	P.
shāl	a long cloak generally made of goat hair	شال	shāl	P.
shalwār	trousers	شلوار	shalwār	P.

shām	dinner, the early part of the evening when it is just dark	شام	shām	P.
shamshīr	a sword	شمشیر	shamshīr	P.
shānag	vomit			
shānag kanaga	to vomit			
shanik	a kid			
shap	night, the period from shām till midnight	شب	shab	P.
shapchar	a bat (perhaps meaning a "grazer by night") *v.* shap and charaga	شبپرک	shabparak	P.
shar	good; as an interjection "all right," "very well," perhaps from	شرع	sharع; the precepts of Mahomed, law, equity	A.
sharāb	wine	شراب	sharāb	A.
shariat	justice	شریعت	sharīعat	A.
shash	six	شش	shash	P.
shash dantānī	a camel 7 to 8 years old, having six teeth		*v.* shash and dant	P.
shep	a small nullah			
sher	a lion, tiger	شیر	sher	P.
shikār	game (animals), hunting, shooting	شکار	shikār	P.
shikārī	a hawk, a hunter	شکاری	shikārī	P.
shīlānch	cheese; pādāna shīlānch, the knee cap			
shīr	milk	شیر	shīr	P.
shirīsh	a neem tree	سرشک	sirishk	
shīshag	glass; a bottle	شیشه	shīsha	P.
shittaraga, ashittarīn, shittarta, shittar	to slip			
shodaga, ashodīn, shodita *or* shushta, pushod	to wash	شستن	shustan	P.
shohāza	enquiry, search			
shohāza kanaga	to search, enquire			
shor	salt ground	شور	shor	P.
shrāpar	a moustache	شهپر	shahparu	S.

shumā	you	شما	shumā	P.
shumāl	a sea breeze	شمال	shimāl	A.
shūro	saltpetre, gunpowder	شوره شورو	shora shoro	P. S.
sīchin, *v.* sūchin				
sid	a kind of shark			
sikun	a porcupine	سکر	sukar	P.
sīm	wire			
sindaga, asindīn, sista, besind	to break (intransitive) as a rope, wire, &c.	شکستن	shikastan	P.
sindān	an anvil	سندان	sindān	P.
sing	a stone	سنگ	sang	P.
sīr	marriage	سور	sūr	P.
sirimug	antimony, collyrium	سرمه	surma	P.
sīt, *v.* sūt				
siyād	relations			
siyāh	black	سیاه	siyāh	P.
siyāhiṅ pas	a goat,		*v.* pas	
siyāhiṅ pilpil	black pepper	فلفل	filfil, pepper	A.
sob	the morning just before sunrise, the morning generally	صبح	subh	A.
soba māhala	early in the morning			
sochaga, asochīn, sotka *or* sohta besoch	to burn (transitive)	سوختن	sokhtan	P.
sochāko	a hornet			
sogind *v.* saugind	an oath			
sohr, *v.* sūr				
sohrbād	leprosy	سرخباده	surkhbāda, erysipelas	P.
soriṅ mirch	white pepper	مرچ	mirch, pepper	S. H.
sorob	apple	سیب	seb	P.
sowāso	a sole fish			
sowāsū	a centipede			
subuk	light (in weight)	سبک	sabuk	P.
sūchaga, asūchīṅ, sūtka *or* sūhta, besūch *v.* sochaga	to burn (intransitive)	سوختن	sokhtan	P.

sūchīn, sīchīn	a needle	سوزن	sozan	P.
suhān	a file	سوهان	suhān	P.
suhāṅ kanaga	to file			
sumb *v.* kal, kanda	a hole (not in the ground)			
sund	dried ginger	سند	sundi	S.
sūr, sohr	red	سرخ	surkẖ	P.
sūr	salt (adjective)	شور	shor	P.
sūrag	salt grass		*v.* sūr	
sūraga, asūrīn, sūrita, besūr *v.* sūrīnaga	to shake (intransitive)			
sūrīnaga, asūrīnīṅ, sūrīnta, besūrīn *v.* sūraga	to shake (transitive)			
sūrū	jowaree			
sūrū kanaga	to begin	شروع	shurūع	A.
surup	lead (metal)	سرب	surb	P.
surushk	elbow			
sust	loose (not tight)	سست	sust	P.
sustī	idleness, laziness	سستی	susti	P.
sūt, sīt	profit	سود	süd	P.
swārag	breakfast, meal taken between about 3 hours after sunrise and noon			
swāragānī	the period from about 3 hours after sunrise till noon			

T.

tā	to, up to; used when speaking of two places in the sense of from one *to* the other	تا	tā	P.
tabīb	doctor	طبیب	tabib	A.
tabīla	a stable	طویله	tawīla	A.
tachaga, atachīṅ, tachita *or* tatkata, betach	to run	تازیدن تکیدن	tazidan takīdan	P. P.
tagird	a mat, matting			

tahār v. thār	dark, darkness; in, inside	تار	tar, dark	P.
taht, tāht	a bedstead	تخت	takht	A. P.
taiār v. tiār	ready, well, strong			
tāk	a leaf of a tree			
taksīr, taskīr	fault, crime	تقصير	taksīr	A.
talag, talak	shallow			
tambāk	tobacco	تنباكو	tāmbākū	P.
tambāk kashaga	to smoke tobacco	تنباكو كشيدن	tambākū kashīdan	S.
tambū	a tent	تنبو	tambū	S. H.
tanagī, tanagei	yet	تدھ بہ	tādhi bi	S.
tanak	thin (applied to flat objects only, v. būrig and lāgar)	تنک	tunak	P.
tang	a girth	تنگ	tang	P.
tank	narrow	تنگ	tang	P.
tap	a cut, a wound. Fever.	تب تبّ	tab, fever tabb, cutting	P. A.
tar	damp, wet, moist	تر	tar	P.
taraga, atarīn, tarita, pitar	to turn round, to walk about			
tārī	a star	تاری	tarī	S.
tarī roaga	to travel by sea		v. tar	
tau, v. to				
tāzī	a greyhound	تازی	tāzī	P.
tejag	a musk melon			
tel	oil	تیل	telu S., tel H.	
tez	quick, swift, sharp	تیز	tez	P.
thar, tahār	in, inside			
* thren	the waist, loins			
* threnband	waistband, cummerbund			
tiāb	coast, sea shore			
tiār	ready, well, strong	تیار	taiyār	P.
tīkam	a pickaxe			
tilā	gold	طلا	tilā	P.
tilāig	golden			
tillū	a bell	تلو	talo	S.

* In these words "th" sounded as in English word "thin."

tip	a jewel	تک	tik	S.
tīr	a bullet	تیر	tīr	P.
tīr rech	a bullet mould	ریختن	rekhtan, to pour, cast, melt	P.
tīrkū	a ramrod			
to, tau	thou	تو	to	P.
tok	centre, middle			
toka	between, in the centre			
tolag	a jackal			
tom	seed	تخم	tukhm	P.
top	a cannon	توپ	top	P.
top	a hat	توپی	topī	H. S.
topī	a percussion cap			
tor	a style, manner	طور	tawr	A.
towār	an axe, a noise	تبر	tabar, axe	P.
trapunzaga, atrapunziṅ, trapunzita, trapunz	to slip			
trāt	a kind of salt grass			
triposhk	a spark			
trund	narrow, tight			
trus	fear	ترس	tars	P.
trusaga, atrusīṅ, trusita, betrus	to fear	ترسیدن	tarsīdan	P.
trushp	sour	ترش	tursh	P.
trushpiṅ shīr	sour milk			
tufān	a storm, a gale, anything very great, as *tufāna garmī*, very great heat; *tufāna lashkar*, a very numerous army	طوفان	tūfān, a storm	A.
tukur	a piece; a little, a small quantity. (In latter sense takes inflection "iṅ")	تکر	tukaru, a piece	S.
tūnag	thirsty	تشنه	tishna	P.
tung	a hole (not in the ground) *v.* kal, kanda; a jail	تنگ	tang, a jail	P.
tūpāk	a gun	تفنگ	tufang	P.
turī	a sweeper			

U.

umbr	age	عمر	ʿmur	A.
uzhnag kanaga	to swim	آشنا	āshnā	P.

W.

wāb	sleep	خواب	khwāb	P.
wād	salt			
wadī kanaga	to get, to procure			
wahdī	a time, a period	واری	wārī	S.
wāja	Master, Sir (common form of address amongst Beloochees)	خواجه	khwāja	P.
wām deaga	to lend money	وام دادن	wām dādan	P.
wām kanaga	to borrow money	وام گرفتن	wām giriftan	P.
wām giraga	to collect a debt			
wāmdār	a debtor, a creditor	وامدار	wāmdār	P.
wānaga, awānīn, wānta, bewān	to read	خواندن	khwāndan	P.
wapsaga, awapsiṅ, wapta, bwaps *or* bwasp	to sleep	خفتن	khuftan	P.
waraga, awarīn, *or* awār wārta, bur	to eat or drink, to cut as a saw, gimlet, &c.	خوردن	khūrdan	P.
waraga charaga	an expression used to signify "eating and drinking;" charaga has in this case no meaning, and is probably only a word formed to rhyme with waraga			
waragī	food, edible	خوردنی	khūrdanī	P.
warnā	young	ورنا	warnā	P.
wash	sweet (water, &c.)	وش	wash, good, excellent	P.
washkechag	the itch			
wash-wash	slowly, steadily; perhaps from	باسیدن	bāshīdan, *v.* wustaga	P.

wāsta	for	واسطے	wāste	A.
wat	self	خود	khud	P.
watāch	a pistol	تبانچہ	tabāncha	P.
wateg, wuteg *or* uteg	a tank	واہی	wāhī	S.
wushtaga, awushtīn, wushtata, bosht *or* bwusht	to stand up, to stand still	باشیدن	bāshidan	P.

Y.

yebara	completely, entirely			
yebarī, yek-bār	once	یکبار	yakbār	P.
yek, yak	one	یک	yak	P.
yekdār	a canoe (meaning "one piece of wood)"			
yek kanaga	to join			
yek-kashā	always			
yele deaga, yele kanaga	to let go, to let loose, to abandon (sometimes yelo deaga)	یلہ	yala, escape, release	P.
yessara	together			

Z.

zabardastī	force, tyranny	زبردستی	zabardastī	P.
zabr	excellent, very good, perfect	زبر	zabar, high, superior	P.
zad	the cock of a gun	زدن	zadan, to strike	P.
zāg	a child	زاق	zāk	A.
zāhir, *v.* zahr				
zahr, zāhir	angry, bitter	زہرہ / زہر	zahra, the gall / zahr, angry	P. / P.
zahrin tel	bitter oil, mustard oil			
zaitun	a guava (in P. & H. zaitūn is an "olive")			
zāl	a wife	زال	zāl	P.
zām	a sword			
zamīk	a crop			
zamīn	a field, the ground	زمین	zamīn	P.
zān	the knee	زانو	zānū	P.

zānaga, azāniñ, zānta, bezān	to know, to understand	دانستن دانیدن	dānistan dānīdan	P. P.
zand	thick, stout, strong (man or animal)			
zang	rust	زنگ	zang	P.
zangī	rusty			
zanīk	the chin	زنخ	zanakh	P.
zank	a camel 4 to 5 years old			
zar	money	زر	zar	P.
zard	yellow	زرد	zard	P.
zargar	a goldsmith	زرگر	zargar	P.
zarūr	necessary	ضرور	zarūr	P.
zī	yesterday	دیروز	dīroz	P.
zimistān	cold season, winter	زمستان	zimistān	P.
zīn	a horse's saddle	زین	zīn	P.
zindag	alive	زنده	zinda	P.
zīraga, azīriñ, zīrta, bizīr	to take, to buy (same as zūraga)	پزیرفتن گرفتن	pazīruftan giriftan	P. P.
zīrūk	a purchaser (agent formed from zīraga)			
zūd	quick	زود	zūd	P.
zuhr	the period from noon till about 2 p.m.	ظهر	zuhr	A.
zūrāg	strong, oppressive	زور	zūr, strength, violence	P.
zūraga, azūrīñ, zūrta, buzūr	to take, to buy		v. zīraga	
zūrāwarī	force, tyranny	زورآوری	zūrāwarī	P.
zūrmand	strong physically (a man)			
zuwān	a tongue	زبان	zubān	P.

Abbreviations.

P—Persian.
A—Arabic.
S—Sindee.
H—Hindustani.
Imp.—Imperative.
Adj.—Adjective.
Adv.—Adverb.

The principal parts of verbs are given in following order:—

(1) Infinitive.
(2) Aorist.
(3) Preterite.
(4) Imperative.

Art. II.—*Saṅgameśvara Máhátmya and Linga Worship.* By the Hon'ble Ra'o Sa'heb V. N. Mandlik.

Read February 13th, 1875.

Saṅgameśvara is the principal town of the Tálukâ of that name in the District of Southern Koṅkaṇa, in the Bombay Presidency. It is situated at the junction of the rivers Śástri and Sonavi. Its latitude is 17° 9′ N., and longitude 73° 36′ E. It is one of the principal places noted in such portions of the *Sahyádri Khaṇḍa*, a part of the *Skanda Puráṇa*, as are now accessible. The *Saṅgameśvara Máhátmya*, which I present to the Society to-day, is stated to have been composed by a poet named Śesha, in the service of one of the Chálukyá kings named Karṇa. It consists of ninety *ślokas* or verses—the last five of which have been extracted from the *Sahyádri Khaṇḍa*. The copy with which I have been favoured by my friend Mr. Vishṇu Moreśvara Kelkar, the Subordinate Judge of Saṅgameśvara, was made in Śake 1713, and is therefore 83 years old. The language is simple, like that of other Puráṇas, and this and other circumstances which I shall state presently, seem to show that this town is one of some considerable antiquity. The poem begins by citing the genealogy of the founder of Saṅgameśvara. It is as follows:—

(1)	Śeshaputra (शेषपुत्र), who began to reign in the Śaka year 10.		
(2)	Śaktikumáraka (शक्तिकुमारक), who reigned 25 years.		
(3)	Sinhaka Mudrika (सिंहक मुद्रिक),	„	12 „
(4)	Indu-Kiriṭi	„	18 „
(5)	Brahmá to Cháluki	„	38 „

The lastnamed in this poem is Karṇa, who became king in Ś. 100. He came from Karavíra or Kolhápura, along with his brothers, Nága and Singhaṇa. Kolhápura itself was not their original seat; but their previous residence and capital are not given in the extract before me. He then built a number of temples in addition to those which had been established by Ráma at this place; and he built a fortress for his residence, and his brothers built their own palaces and constructed their quarters of the city. To the principal temple which he built, and named after himself—Karṇeśvara—he assigned nine villages:—(1) Dharmapura, (2) Guṇavalliká, (3) Devanimúchaka, (4) Śivani, (5) Lavala, (6) Phanas, (7) Dhamani, (8) Kadamba, and (9) Antravalli. The village of Kaṭuki was assigned to Someśvara temple, and the village Turiya was granted to the temples of Kedára and Someśa together. Most of these places can be directly or remotely identified. The poem, like other similar works, describes the virtues and religious

efficacy of the several holy spots in Saṅgameśvara, and concludes by mentioning that the king Karṇa who founded the temple of Karṇeśvara at this place was the same as the king who built the temple of Mahálakshmi at Kolhápura. We are also told that all the temples existing previously to the time of Karṇa were of the time of Rághava or Ráma. And the ancient name of the place is given as Rámakshetra. The extract from the *Sahyádri Khaṇḍa* at the end of the *Saṅgameśvara Máhátmya* is as follows:—

"(85.) The slokas therein are the following:—

"As the delightful Káśí, Prayága, Pushkara, Prabhása, Naimisha Kshetra, Chakra Pushkariní are celebrated, so is this great city named Saṅgama. There are ten holy places established by Ráma. Among the ten, six are superior; the names of which hear from me:—Gokarṇa, Saptakoṭiśa, Kuṇakeśa, Saṅgama, Harihara, and Tryamba-Keśa. There are six holy places. Kuddaleśa (Kudal?), Dhútapápa, Dálbheśa (Dabhol), Vardhana (Śrivardhana?), and the great god Rámeśvara. These are the five holy places. Even Bhárgava Ráma by his devotion founded the *liṅgas* at Saṅgameśvara in the vicinity of Śiva." (86-89.) These are the *ślokas* in the *Sahyádri Khaṇḍa*. The preceding *ślokas* are the principal ones describing Saṅgameśvara composed by Śesha, and forming part of a work named *Karṇasudhánidhi*.

There is evident confusion here between Bhárgava Ráma and Rághava Ráma in a previous part of the poem. But this seems to me to confirm the Puránik origin of the narrative, written from a simple religious point of view, regardless of time. If, according to the gradation of the Puránik *avatárs*, we ascend from Ráma to Bhárgava Ráma, the antiquity of the spot becomes all the greater.

At Saṅgameśvara there is a temple of Saṅgameśvara pointed out, and that shrine is stated to be older than that of Karṇeśvara founded by the Chálukyá king Karṇa. This older shrine is referred to Paraśuráma, the reputed reclaimer of the Koṅkaṇa* country along the western coast of India. There are remains of old temples at and about the town, which point to a remote period. The only inscription to be found is inside the temple of Karṇeśvara, on a wall, an impression of which I produce before the Society to-day. It has been taken by an intelligent clerk of my own, whom I had deputed on purpose to that and other places, in connection with some work before me on account of this Society, at my own expense:—

* Includes all that strip of land between the Sahyádri range and the sea up to and inclusive of Malabar.

The only letters and figures which can be deciphered are :—

1st line अ च गों ११ (?)
2nd „ दा म ८ (?)

Mr. Vishṇu Moreśvara sends me the following version by a gentleman at Saṅgameśvara, made with some local knowledge :—

गध्रुगो ११

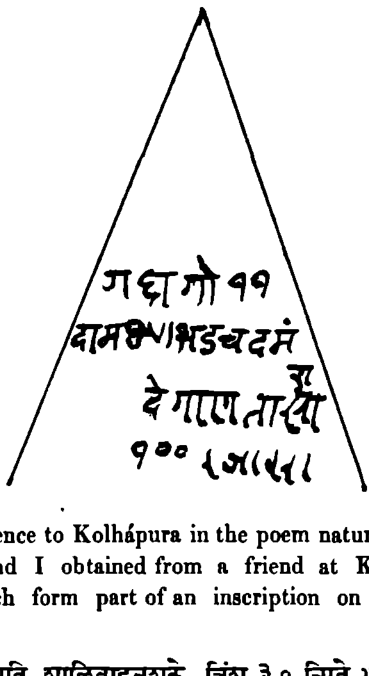
दाम४।। थचेदम

देवोछमतारा

१०० द्दजदप

But I confess that there is little or no evidence before me to support this reading of the few lines that are now very nearly obliterated.

It seems, however, that a similar reading was adopted by the late Śivaráma Bháskar Káṇe, Sub-Deputy Educational Inspector of Ratnágirí, in his Maráṭhí account of that collectorate published in A.C. 1872, and of which the following is a *facsimile*:—



The reference to Kolhápura in the poem naturally led me to further inquiries; and I obtained from a friend at Kolhápura the following verses, which form part of an inscription on the temple of Mahálakshmi :—

याते श्रीमति शालिवाहनशके त्रिंश ३० न्मिते भूपतिः कर्णः कर्णसमान-दानकुशलश्चालुक्यभूपादभूत् ॥ यो भूत्वानुजनागसिंघणमहीपाभ्यां भुजाभ्यां चतुर्बाहु र्भूमिमजीजयत् खलु चतुःपाथोधिपाथोवृतां ॥ १ ॥ तेनायं द्रविणाचलं खलुवर्णिकृत्वा ऽखिलक्ष्मातलश्रीदः श्रीनिलयो महान् विरचितो यंत्राकृतिस्वीकृति :॥ किंचैतादृश एव कोंकणगतश्रीसंगमेशाभिधक्षेत्रे स्वाभिधया समर्चित-महालिंगस्य देवालयः ॥ २ ॥ सोथ ध्वंसितगर्वपर्वतमहीपालानुयातः सतः संश्रुत्याखिलभूमिमंडल हृदं सद्यो मलक्षालनं ॥ क्षेत्रं श्रीकरवीर

मत्र कमलालीला गृहे कांश्चन मीत्वा वत्सरकानगादथ वशीकर्तुं पुनः कोंकणं ॥ ३ ॥ श्रीसंगमेश्वरक्षेत्रे श्रीमत्कर्णेश्वरालये लिखित्वा स्थापितं तत्र पद्यत्रयमिदं ॥

Translation :—" When thirty years of the Śáliváhana era had passed, the Chálukya king named Karṇa, generous like *the* Karṇa,* flourished. He by the help of his younger brothers Nága and Siṅghaṇa, who were his two additional hands, becoming four-handed, really conquered the earth surrounded by the four oceans (1).

" By him mountains of money being spent, the great temple of the goddess, which is an ornament to the whole world, and which is in the form of a *Śriyantra* and of a beautiful shape, was constructed. And by him also a similar temple dedicated to the great *Liṅga*, and consecrated after his own name, was built at Śrí Saṅgameśvara town in the Koṅkaṇa (2).

" He, followed by the kings of the earth (whose pride had been destroyed), having heard that in the whole world this place would immediately wash away sins, and which city of *Karavíra* was a place where the goddess of wealth delighted to play, spent several years there, and went again to subdue the Koṅkaṇa (3)."

These three *ślokas* have been inscribed on the temple of Karṇeśvara in the city of Saṅgameśvara.

These verses have not been found on the walls of the present Karṇeśvara temple. But the moist climate and excessive rainfall of the Southern Koṅkaṇa would fully account for the different states of inscriptions, even contemporaneous, on both sides of the Ghâṭs.

About the *Kolhápura* temple I hope to write on a future occasion, if I receive ample materials which have been promised to me. Meanwhile I would refer to pp. 479 and 480 of the *Statistical Report on Kolhápura*.† This inscription distinctly refers to Saṅgameśvara and King Karṇa of the Chálukya dynasty. He is described as being succeeded by Nṛisiṅha, Vetugideva, Someśvara, and Somadra—the last of whom gave the village of Kumbhárgáṁ to the temple of Mahálakshmí, which

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* One of the heroes of the *Mahábhárata*.

† Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government No. VIII., New Series : *Statistical Report on the Principality of Kolhápura*. Compiled by Major D. C. Graham, of the 28th Regt. Bombay N. I., Political Superintendent at Kolhápura : 1854.

grant is set forth in the above inscription. There is no date to the inscription as given by Major Graham, and in his Summary at pages 334 and 335 the column of dates is blank. The king who succeeded Karṇa-deva is said to have had his capital at "Vijayaput"* (as it is there designated), and this must, I think, be the same as Juyunugur or Jayanagar at p. 314 of the same work. If so, it takes us, according to Major Graham, to A.C. 789. In Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*† the Chálukya era begins with A.C. 1016. The two branches of the Chálukyas are there described, one reigning at Kalyáṇa, in the Western Karnáṭaka, and the other ruling Kalinga. But the names given in my account of Saṅgameśvara are not mentioned by Mr. Brown.

Major (now Major General Sir) George LeGrand Jacob gives Chálukya grants from Kuḍál Desá, near Goa, of the 6th and 7th centuries of the Christian era.‡ The same learned writer notes in the next volume§ a Chálukya grant of Tervána, a village near Rájápura, about fifty miles to the south-west of Saṅgameśvara, of the year A.C. 1261.

The late Professor Bál Gaṅgádhar Shástri gives notice‖ of a Chálukya grant of the year A.C. 733; and he seems to hold¶ that the power of the Chálukyas had then (at least temporarily) declined. This grant refers to a place near Puṇá. Another referred to in the same paper is described as of the 5th century of the Christian era.

The list of Chálukyas given by Mr. Wathen (*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, No. VII., pp. 1–41) is said to tally with those which Dr. Bháu reported upon in his paper to this Society read in November 1870. Kolhápura is mentioned as a tributary state of the Chálukyas by Mr. Wathen; and more than one prince of the name Someśvara or Soma occurs in his account of the Chálukyas of the 10th or 11th centuries.

In his *Survey of Indian Chronology* (see Vol. VIII. of this Society's Journal, p. 250), Dr. Bháu Dáji puts the dates of the previous Chálukya grants till then published as ranging from Śake 411 downwards. It

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* *Statistical Account of Kolhápur*, by Major Graham (above quoted), p. 479.

† *Carnatic Chronology*, by C. P. Brown, M.R.A.S., Madras Civil Service; Lond. 1863, p. 37.

‡ *Jour. B. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. III., p. 203.

§ *Jour. B. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IV., p. 98.

‖ *Jour. B. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. II., p. 1.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 2.

seems to me, however, from the scanty notices of the Chálukyas in Nelson's *Madura Manual** that a great deal of light will yet be thrown on the history not only of the Chálukyas, but on the spread of *Liṅga*-worship and the progress of Śaivism, by the publication and translation of all the Tamil works which date many centuries before the Christian era.

How the Chálukyas prospered, and brought with them a more elaborate form of *liṅga*-worship, can be completely illustrated by researches into the history of the South of India and connecting it with that of Western India. For Malabar and Canara form a part of the Koṅkaṇa, which once extended far into the southern portion of Gujarát.

This country is said to have been recovered from the sea by Paraśuráma—who was then standing at Gokarṇa† (as some would hold), or at Saṅgameśvara, which at one time was called Rámakshetra. And if the lost portions of the *Swayádri Khaṇḍa* could be recovered, they would throw additional light on the subject. The Rev. Mr. Taylor speaks of a manuscript of *Paraśurámavijayam*, the publication of which would doubtless give some help in the same direction.

Paraśuráma was evidently no ordinary person. He is connected with the passage of the Brahmaputra into Assam ‡ in the east and colonizing the western coast of India §. And yet on the establishment of what is understood in those parts as the oldest Brahmanical seat, we find the first shrines consecrated are dedicated to the *liṅga* of Śiva. It is remarkable that the *trimurti* or triad at the present town of Paraśuráma, near Chipluna, to the north-east of Saṅgameśvara, where there are now three images of Vishṇu, is also known to have been a *liṅga*-shrine set up by a *paramahaṅsa* Gosávi, who afterwards removed to the village of Dhávaḍśi, near Sátárá. On the site of the present three images there once stood three *liṅgas*. The images now consecrated are:—*Kálakáma*, *Paraśuráma*, and *Bhárgavaráma*. This must have been at least two hundred years ago. All the oldest temples at Saṅgameśvara are *liṅga*-temples; and the style

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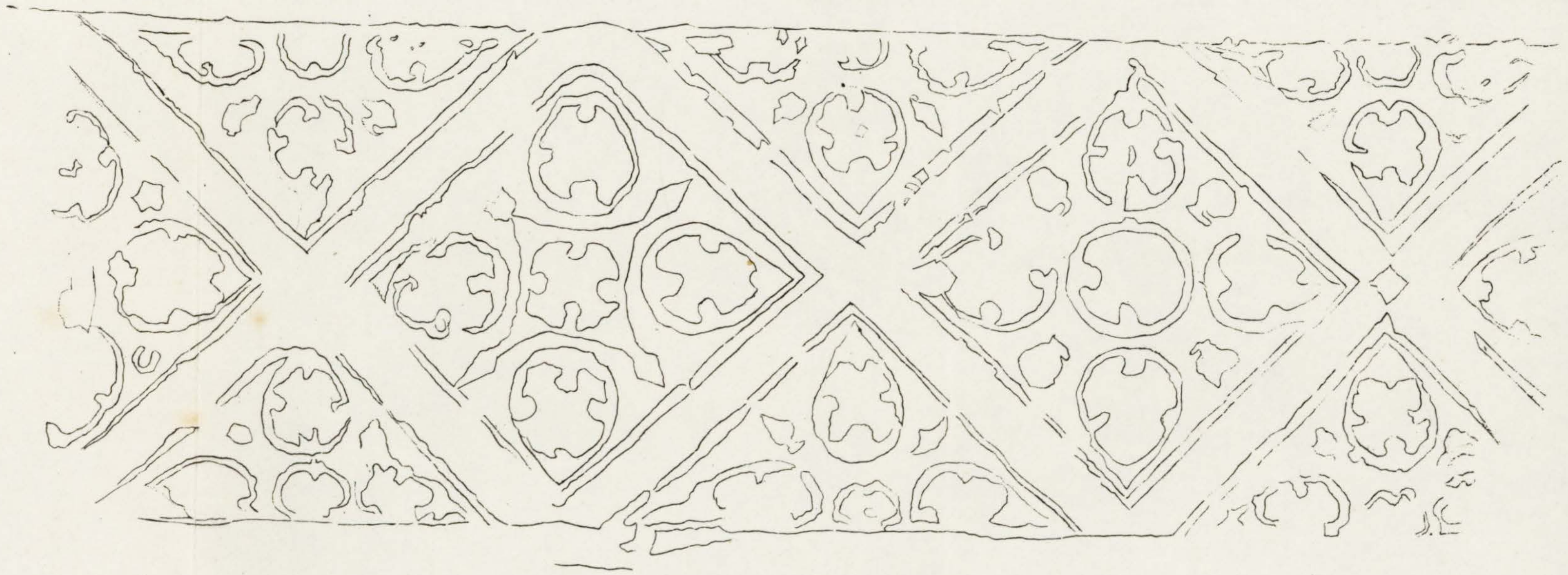
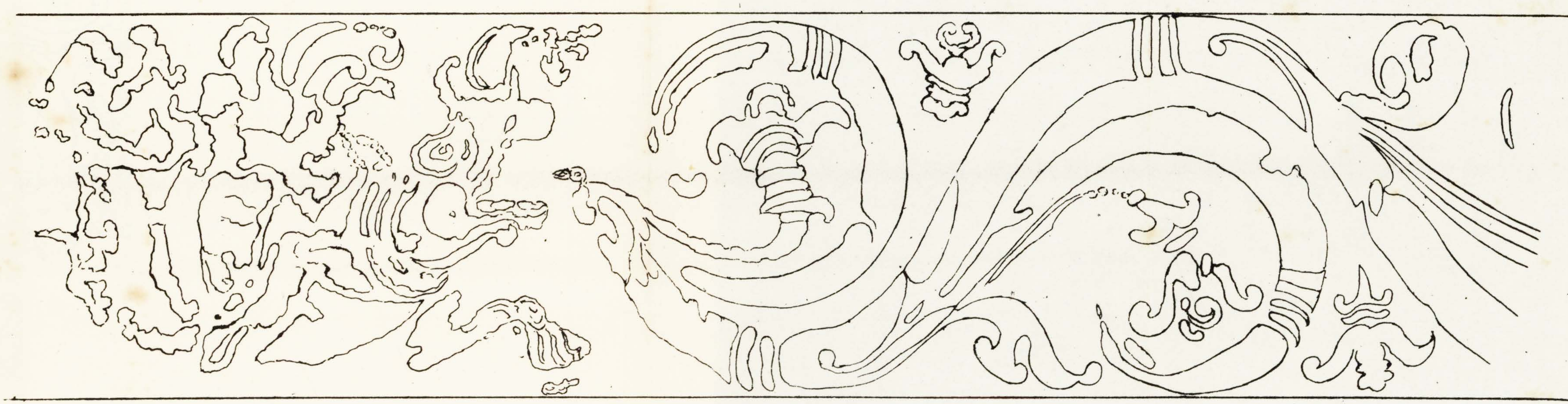
* Part III., pp. 63, 65, 75.

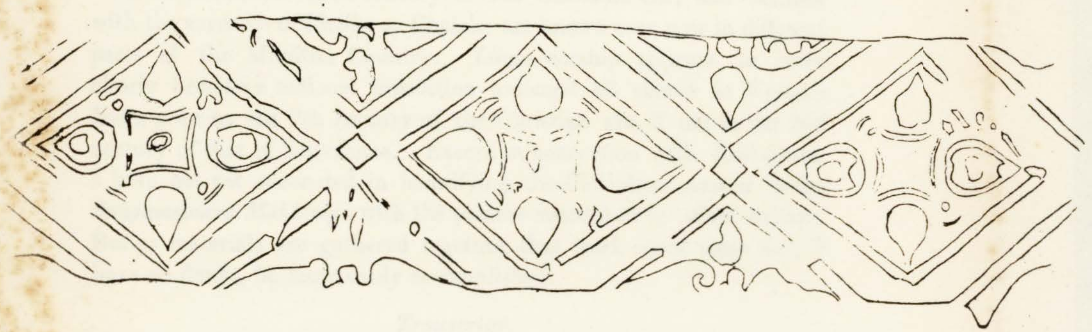
† A *Handbook of Hindu Mythology*, by the Rev. W. M. Taylor: Madras, 1870 (2nd ed.), pp. 86-88.

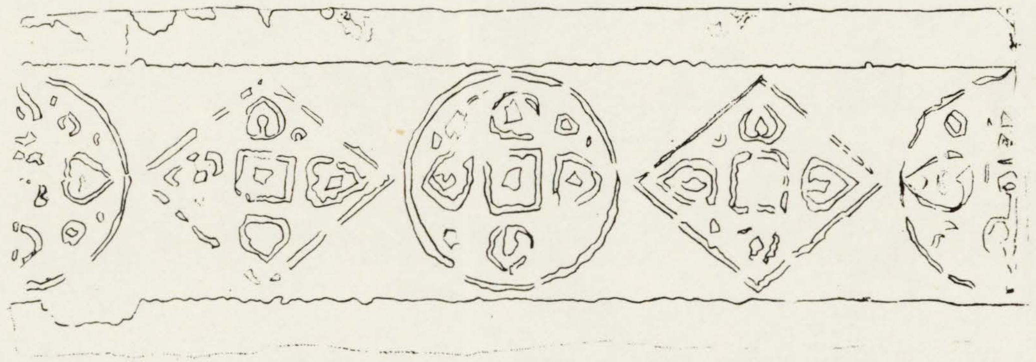
‡ *As. Res.*, vol. xiv., p. 382.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 386, and note.









of the Karṇeśvara temple may be judged from some *facsimiles* of architectural ornaments which I now produce. The late Dr. Bháu's Paṇḍit Bhagvánlál refers them to a date anterior to the 8th century of the Christian era.

From evidence which is available, the worship of Vishṇu had made considerable progress in this part of the country long before this period. In a comparatively poor mountainous village six miles from Dápulí I met with a beautiful image of Vishṇu, brought evidently from the north, bearing the date Śri-Śaka 1127; and I am satisfied that a careful search will bring to light further facts and materials.

Chálukya traditions near Saṅgameśvara trace an offshoot of the race down to about the 15th century of the Christian era; and families with the surname of Chálke or Chaḷake are known even now in different parts of the Maráṭhá Country. *Liṅga*-worship appears to have clearly become a national institution amongst all classes in Western India prior to the 7th century of the Christian era, if not in the 2nd century of that of Śáliváhana. Except in connection with Kolhápura, I have not yet succeeded in identifying the Chálukyas named in the *Saṅgameśvara Máhátmya* with the princes mentioned by other writers. But as materials are gathered together, that work could some day, I have no doubt, be more easily accomplished.

Transcript.

श्रीगणेशायनमः॥अथसंगमेश्वरक्षेत्रमाहात्म्यं सह्याद्रिखंडे शेषभाषिते आद्योस्मिन्नृ-
पशालिवाहनशकेपूर्णेंदु १० तुल्येगते राजाचंद्रसमाननोरविसमः श्रीशेषपुत्रोभवत्॥
तस्माच्छक्तिकुमारकोपि नृपतिर्जातोमहाशक्तिमान् यावत्तत्व२५समाः समग्रवसुधा-
मानंदयामासस:॥१॥तस्मात्सिंहकमुद्रिकोद्विजपरोराजार्क १२ वर्षाण्यभूत्तस्मा-
दिंदुकिरीटिनामनृपतिर्नागेंदु १८ वर्षाण्यहो ॥ ब्रह्माद्यास्ततएवचालुकिपरावेदाग्नि-
२४ वर्षाणिवै भूपाभूसुरगौरवार्चनरताःसर्वेदिवं प्रस्थिताः ॥ २ ॥ चालुक्योभ-
वद्राजाश्रेष्ठः सर्वधनुर्भृतां॥ ततोभवन् त्रयःपुत्रास्तुल्यास्त्रेतामितेजसः॥३॥ प्रथमः
कर्णनामाख्योद्वितीयोनागनामकः ॥ तृतीयःसिंघणश्चैते प्रस्थितादाक्षिणांदिशं ॥
४ ॥ करभारान्समादाय करवीरं समागताः ॥ कंचित्कालंस्थितास्तत्र तस्माच्चलि-
तमानसाः ॥ ५ ॥ रामक्षेत्रंसमायाताःसमुद्रेणविराजितं ॥ नानाविप्रगणाकीर्णं
नानाद्रुमविभूषितं ॥ ६ ॥ यावद्रोकर्णवलयं तावत्सागरमेदिनीं ॥ विजित्य गौतमी
तीरपर्यंतं प्रस्थिताःपुनः ॥ ७ ॥रामस्यदर्शनंसर्वे गृहित्वा निर्गतास्ततः ॥ मार्गेनिर्ग-

मकालेपि कंचिन्मार्गसमागता: ॥ ८ ॥ तत्रदृष्टाहिकेदारं दक्षिणाभिमुखंतथा ॥
उष्णतीर्थमहापुण्यं सद्य:प्रत्ययकारकं ॥ ९ ॥ दिनत्रयंस्थितास्तत्र स्वप्नोभूत्सर्वसि-
द्धिद: ॥ स्वप्नेविश्वेश्वरंदेवं ददर्शोमासमन्वितं ॥ १० ॥ तत्समीपेपरंरम्यं पर्वतंच
शिवाकृतं ॥ तत्समीपेमहादेवीं रम्यांचभुवनेश्वरीं ॥ ११ ॥ तत्पूर्वभागतोयांतीं
नदींरम्यांसुखावहां ॥ महारण्येस्थिताभद्रां सुजलांचोष्णमध्यगां ॥ १२ ॥ पर्वताग्रे
प्यृषिवरं गालवंचददर्शस: ॥ ज्येष्ठाभयात्तपस्यंतंमहादेवस्यसन्निधौ ॥ १३ ॥
तस्मात्क्रोशद्वयस्यांते पर्वताग्रेसुशोभनं॥सत्येशंविजनाथंच ऋषिसंघै:सुपूजितं॥१४
तज्जटाजूटसंयोगाद्गंगाचोत्तरवाहिनी ॥ पर्वताग्राद्विनि:सृत्य ह्यधोभागंगतातुसा ॥
१५ ॥ ततस्तुगौतमंतीर्थं पूर्वभागाद्विनि:सृतं ॥ तस्मात्पश्चिमभागेपि नाम्नाकोले-
श्वरीशुभा ॥ १६ ॥ वरुणालकनंदाया: संगमेसंगमेश्वर: ॥ ततस्तीर्थानिचान्या-
नि धूतपापादिकानिच ॥ १७ ॥ उत्तरेनागनाथश्च निबंधेशाभिध:शिव: ॥ तस्मा-
च्चपूर्वभागस्थ:केदारोदक्षिणामुख: ॥ १८ ॥ नदीमध्येचोष्णतीर्थं सुखदंसर्वदेहिनां ॥
तस्मात्पश्चिमभागेपि तिलभांडेश्वराभिध: ॥ १९ ॥ पार्वतीतत्रविख्याता प्रसिद्धासं-
गमेश्वरे ॥ सिद्धिबुद्धिप्रद:श्रेष्ठोगणेश:कामनाप्रद: ॥ २० ॥ तस्मात्पश्चिमभागे-
पि गोमुखेश्वरकस्तथा ॥ तस्मात्स्वर्णवतीगंगा तत्रदुर्गात्रयंमहत् ॥ २१ ॥ इतिक्षेत्रं
स्वप्नगतं कर्णराज्ञोबभूवह ॥ तत:प्रबुद्धोराजासौ तत्क्षणेसकलार्थवित् ॥२२ ॥ तत्र
कर्तुंमनश्चक्रे राजधानींसुखावहां ॥ प्रातराहूयदैवज्ञंशांडिल्यकुलमंडनं ॥ २३ ॥
श्रीसंगमेश्वरक्षेत्रवासिनंसतपोधनं ॥ श्रीमन्नृसिंहनामानं ज्योति:शास्त्रविशारदं ॥
२४॥संपूज्यफलरत्नाद्यैर्मुहूर्तंप्रष्टवान्मुदा॥तदुद्दिष्टेशुभेकाले शुभलग्नबलान्विते॥
२५ ॥ कूर्मशेषवराहादीन् संपूज्याविधिवत्तत: ॥ राजधानीकृतातत्र कर्णनाम्नाम-
हीभृता ॥ २६ ॥ नागनाम्नानागपूरं सिंहनाम्नाचसिंघणं ॥ करवीरंततस्त्यक्त्वा
स्थिताविबहुवत्सरं ॥ २७ ॥ तत्क्षेत्रसदृशंसर्वं निर्ममेसंगमेश्वरं ॥ स्वनाम्नास्थापि-
तंलिंगं मुख्यंचात्रचकारस: ॥ २८॥ सुवर्णकोटिकंतत्र व्ययीकृत्यमहामति: ॥ शत-
त्रयंषष्ट्यधिकं प्रासादान्वैचकारस: ॥ २९ ॥ तेषांनामानिगौणानि किंचित्किंचिद्व-
दाम्यहं ॥ ब्रह्मेशंपूर्वभागेच पंचायतनशोभितं ॥ ३० ॥ कर्णेश्वरंमहादेवं दशाय-
तनमंडितं ॥ प्रसिद्धंसंगमक्षेत्रं भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदायकं ॥ ३१ ॥ गिरिजेशोनदीतीरे तत:
कुंभेश्वराभिध: ॥ एकवीरामहादेवी चतु:षष्टिगुणैर्युता ॥ ३२ ॥ रावणेशस्तुगंगा-
या: समीपेशंकर:स्वयं ॥ रावणस्थापितंलिंगं जीर्णोद्धारंचकारस: ॥ ३३ ॥ तत्रैववा-
रणतीर्थंसर्वाघौघविनाशनं ॥ यत्रस्नानेनपानेन मनुष्योलभतेगतिं ॥ ३४ ॥ ततोभं-

डपुराणेश : पंचनारायणैर्युतः ॥ महाकालेश्वरस्तत्र कोपनाथस्तथैवच ॥३५॥ नगरे-
शोमध्यभागे भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदायकः ॥ यस्यदर्शनमात्रेण निष्पापोमनुजोभवेत् ॥३६॥
ततस्सोमेश्वरोदेवोविश्वेशायतनंतथा ॥ अमृतेशोमहादेवःपंकजेशस्ततःपरं ॥३७॥
खड्गेश्वरस्ततश्चैवनंदिकेशोजलान्वितः॥संरक्षणार्थंक्षेत्रस्यतत्रास्तेकालभैरवः॥३८॥
दाक्षिणाभिमुखस्तिष्ठन्सिद्धगंधर्वसेवितः ॥ निर्विघ्नेनभवेत्तस्यक्षेत्रवासोहिदर्शनात् ॥
३९ ॥ अष्टम्यांवाचतुर्दश्यां वटकोदुंबरादिभिः ॥ यःपूजयेत्प्रयत्नेन तस्यसिद्धिःप्र-
दाभवेत् ॥ ४० ॥ भैरवेणावृतंतीर्थं ब्रह्मेश्वरसमन्वितं ॥ तत्रस्नात्वाचपीत्वाच ब्रह्म-
लोकंसमश्नुते ॥ ४१ ॥ तत्पश्चिमेमहातीर्थं ज्ञानवापीतिविश्रुतं ॥ यदंबुपानाज्जायं-
ते ब्रह्मज्ञामनुजाभुवि ॥४२॥ विंध्याद्रिवासिनीदेवी ब्रह्मक्षेत्रंततः परं ॥ यत्रसप्तर्ष-
यः पूर्वंतपश्चेरुःसुदुश्चरं ॥ ४३ ॥ चतुर्दशपदानीहगदाधरयुतानिच ॥ संततंयत्र
तिष्ठंति पितरोमोक्षकांक्षिणः ॥४४॥ तत्रापिंडप्रदानेन गयाश्राद्धफलंलभेत् ॥ ततो-
वैतरणीतीर्थं सतीसत्वप्रदायकं ॥४५॥ यत्रस्नानेनपानेन यमलोकंनपश्यति ॥ तत्रै-
वगोप्रदानेन स्वर्गलोकंसमश्नुते ॥ ४६ ॥ ततश्चोत्तरभागेच वटोक्षय्यइतिस्मृतः ॥
यत्राधःपिंडदानेन पितृणामुत्तमागतिः ॥ ४७ ॥ एतादृशंमहाक्षेत्रं कर्णराजाद्यधि-
ष्ठितं ॥ ततःपुरंचकारोर्व्यां संगमाख्यंसुखावहं ॥४८॥ पूर्वदिग्भागतोन्यस्य भैर-
वान्सिद्धिसंयुतान् ॥ वास्तोष्पतीन्कीर्तिमुखान् नगरद्वारपांस्तथा ॥ ४९ ॥ द्वारे
भैरवमुख्यस्तु तस्यराज्ञोवरप्रदः॥पंचक्रोशात्मिकाभूमिःक्षेत्रस्यास्यंनसंशयः॥५०॥
तास्मिन्स्नानेनदानेन पितृणांगतिरुत्तमा ॥ अपुत्रःपुत्रतामेति नित्यंसोमेश्वरार्चनात्॥
५१ ॥ सप्तेशभजनंयस्य तस्यरोगोनजायते ॥ वैजनाथार्चनेनैव विजयीस्यात्सदा-
नरः ॥ ५२ ॥ आग्नेय्यांपितृमोक्षार्थं स्मशानंस्वर्गलोकदं ॥ आसत्रगणनाथाच्चप-
श्चिमेस्वर्णवाहिनी ॥ ५३ ॥ उत्तरेतुर्वरीग्रामः सप्तेशोदक्षिणेतथा ॥ पंचक्रोशा-
त्मकंक्षेत्रं भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदायकं ॥ ५४ ॥ आसमंतात्प्रसिद्धानि शक्तिनांहिस्थला-
निच ॥ क्षेत्रादस्मादष्टदिक्षु चाष्टौतीर्थानिसंतिहि ॥ ५५ ॥ पूर्वेकमलजातीर्थं क-
मलाधिष्ठितंसदा ॥ तत्रस्नानेनदानेन लक्ष्मीवान्जायतेनरः ॥ ५६ ॥ तत्रैवगोष्प-
दंतीर्थं सर्वरोगनिबर्हणं ॥ अद्यापिगोष्पदेयत्र दृश्यतेलिंगमुत्तमं ॥ ५७ ॥ आग्नेय्यां
गौतमंतीर्थं गौतमेनविनिर्मितं ॥ तत्रस्नानेनदानेन सर्वपापैःप्रमुच्यते ॥५८॥ दक्षि-
णेगस्त्यतीर्थंहि मुनिसंघनिषेवितं ॥यस्यावगाहपानाभ्यां ब्रह्महत्यादिनश्यति॥५९॥
नैऋत्यामेकवीराख्यं तीर्थसिद्धगणैर्युतं ॥ तदंबुप्राशनात्सद्योभूतबाधाविनश्यति ॥
६० ॥ पश्चिमेवरुणास्वर्णनद्योर्यत्रास्तिसंगमः ॥ तत्रैववारुणंतीर्थं सिद्धगंधर्वसे-

वितं ।। ६१ ।। नानामुनिगणाकीर्णे नानाद्रुमसुशोभितं।। तत्रस्नानेनपानेन जलाद्भी-
तिर्नजायते ।।६२।। वायव्यांगणनाथेऽस्ति दुग्धपानप्रियः सदा ।। मूर्खोपितस्यभज-
नात्पंडितःस्यान्नसंशयः ।। ६३ ।। तत्रतीर्थंमहापुण्यं गणेशाख्यंसुनिर्मलं ।। यदं-
बुपानान्मूकत्वं मनुष्याणांविनश्यति ।।६४।। उत्तरस्यांमहातीर्थंश्रेष्ठंमल्लारिनामकं।।
यत्रास्तेभगवान्शंभुर्मल्लारिःसर्वकामदः ।। ६५ ।। तत्रस्नानेनमनुजः सर्वरोगैःप्रमु-
च्यते ।। रविवारेनैशचूर्णैर्मल्लारिण्यासमान्वितं ।।६६।। पुष्पैःफलैश्चनैवेद्यैर्भक्त्यायः
पूजयेन्नरः ।। सलभेत्सकलांसिद्धिं देवानामपिदुर्लभां ।।६७।। ईशान्यांचमहादेवी
महिषासुरमर्दिनी ।। तदंघ्रिपूजनात्सद्यः शत्रुबाधाविनश्यति ।। ६८ ।। तत्रैवास्ते
महापुण्यं गौरीतीर्थंसुनिर्मलं ।। यत्तोयस्नानपानेन क्षिप्रमारोग्यंनृणांभवेत् ।। ६९ ।।
एतेष्वष्टसुतीर्थेषु पिंडदानंचतर्पणं।। स्नानंदानंजपोहोमः सर्वमक्षय्यतांव्रजेत् ।।७०
पूर्वभागेमहादुर्गं तस्यराज्ञोबभूवह ।। नानाभट्टसमाकीर्णं नानासंपत्समन्वितं।।७१।।
नवग्रामान्वृत्तिरूपान् कर्णेशायददौनृपः।।धर्मार्थेधर्मपूरंच पूगार्थेगुणवल्लिकां।।७२।।
देवनीमूचकग्राममुपाहारार्थमेवच ।। घृतार्थेशिवानिग्रामं सत्रार्थेलवलाभिधं।।७३।।
फलार्थेफनसग्रामं धमनींधर्मनाविके ।। उपसेवकिनांचैव कदंबचांत्रवल्लिकां।।७४ ।।
कटुकीग्रामकंसर्वं सोमेशायनिवेदितं।।तुरीयग्रामंकेदारसोमेशाभ्यांददौनृपः।।७५।।
श्रीशालिवाहनशके खखचंद्र१००मितेगते ।।रामक्षेत्रेचकारासौ राज्यंकर्णाभिधो
बली ।।७६।।तस्यराज्येनदारिद्र्यं नचैवेष्टवियोजनं।।नापुत्रःकस्यचिल्लोके नरोगीन-
चमूर्खकः ।।७७।। सर्वविद्यासुकुशला अस्मिन्क्षेत्रेगुणान्विताः।। चतुःषष्टिकला-
युक्ताद्विजाःसंतितपोधनाः ।।७८।। अस्मिन्क्षेत्रेहटात्कारं यःकरोतिनराधमः।।सो-
पिपुण्यक्षयंप्राप्य दरिद्रोजायतेध्रुवं ।।७९।। देवब्राह्मणसंयुक्ते क्षेत्रेस्मिन्साधुसं-
गतिः।। यस्यपुंसःप्रजायेत सगच्छेच्छिवसन्निधौ ।। ८० ।।करवीरेमहालक्ष्म्या-
आलयंयेनवैकृतं ।। तेनैवसत्कृतंह्यत्र कर्णेशस्यनिजालयं ।। ८१ ।। संपूर्णमालयं
जातं तदावैतक्षकायच ।। सुवर्णदशसाहस्रं ददौतस्मैमहामतिः ।। ८२ ।। तस्य
राज्ञोगृहेप्येकःशेषाख्यःकविराजकः ।। नतदंतस्यचरितं नृपतोषायवर्णितं ।।८३।।
यानिस्वप्नगतानीह सोमेशप्रमुखानिच ।। तानिसर्वाणिपूर्वाणि राघवस्थापितानिच
।। ८४ ।। सह्याद्रिखंडेप्येतेषां लिंगानांमहिमानकं ।। सेतिहासंसविस्तारं वेदव्या-
सेनवर्णितं ।।८५।। तत्रत्याःश्लोकाः ।। यथाकाशीपुरीरम्या प्रयागःपुष्करंतथा ।।
प्रभासंनैमिषक्षेत्रंचक्रंपुष्करणीतथा ।। ८६ ।। तथेयंनगरीश्रेष्ठाप्रसिद्धासंगमा-
भिधा ।। रामक्षेत्रेपवित्राणां क्षेत्राणांदशकंत्विदं ।। ८६ ।। तन्मध्येषष्ठकंश्रेष्ठं

तेषांनामानिमेश्शृणु ॥ गोकर्णसप्तकोटीशं कुणकेशंचसंगमं ॥ ८७ ॥ हरीहरंत्र्यंबकेशं पवित्रंषष्ठकांत्विदं ॥ कुद्दालेशंधूतपापंदालभेशंचवर्द्धनं ॥ ८८ ॥ रामेश्वरं महादेवं पवित्रंपंचकांत्विदं ॥ भार्गवेणाभिरामेण स्वभक्तयास्थापितानिच ॥८९॥ संगमेश्वरलिंगानि शिवसांनिध्यकानिच ॥ इत्यादिश्लोकाः सह्याद्रिखंडस्थाः पूर्वश्लोकाःशेषभाषितसंगमेश्वरवर्णनप्रधानाः ॥ इतिश्रीकर्णसुधानिधौशेषभाषिते संगमेश्वरवर्णनं समाप्तं ॥

Translation of 'Sangameśvara Mahátmya,' or 'the Greatness of Sangameśvara.'

Salutation to Gaṇeśa. Now for Sangameśvara Kshetra Mahátmya, composed by Śesha. Now, in this 10th year of the Śáliváhana Śaka, at its close, there lived a king [named] Śeshaputra [or the son of the auspicious Śesha], whose countenance was like the moon, and who was like the sun. From him was born a certain king named Śakti Kumáraka, who was very powerful and was the cause of the whole world's delight for 25 years. (1) After him came King Siñhaka Mudrika, devoted to the Bráhmaṇas; he reigned 12 years. After him King Indu Kiriti reigned 18 years. From him [came his sons] beginning with Bramha and ending with Chàluki, having glorified and honoured the Bráhmaṇas for 34 years, departed all to heaven. (2) King Cháluki was the most powerful of all kings. He had three sons, who were in lustre like the three fires.* (3) The first was by name Karṇa, the second was Nága, and the third Siñghaṇa, and they all set out in the southern direction. (4) Having exacted tribute (on the way) they reached Karavíra (Kolhápura). Having stayed there for some time, they thought of leaving it. (5) They came to Ráma Kshetra, graced by the sea, crowded by Bráhmaṇas of various classes, and adorned by various trees. (6) Having conquered the country up to Gokarṇa, and the sea up to the river Gautami, they returned; (7) and having visited Ráma, they all set out; on the road, they turned into another path. (8) And there beholding Kedára, facing the south, a very sacred hot spring, giving immediate proof (of its character), (9) they stayed there three days and (Karṇa) saw a dream, the giver of everything. In that dream he saw Viśveśvara with Elmá. (10) Near him was an exceedingly delightful mountain in the form of Śiva (or Lingam), and the great lovely goddess Bhuvaneśvari. (11) Situated in a great forest and flowing from the eastern part of the mountain was a sacred, beautiful, and quietly-flowing river, the waters of which he saw were clear and hot in the middle. (12) He also saw, on the top of the mountain, the venerable Ṛishi Gálava, doing penance near Mahádeva from fear of [the goddess] Jyeshṭhá. (13) Thence, four miles distant, he saw on the summit of a mountain the beautiful Sapteśa and Vaijanátha, worshipped by numbers of Ṛishis.

* The three sacrificial fires are :—Gárhapatya, Dakshina, and Áhavaníya.

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(14) Issuing from the summit of the tangled hair of the Sapteśa, Gangá, taking the northerly direction, flowed on to the lower ground. (15) From the eastern part arose the Gautama-Tírtha. On the western part also [appeared] the fair Koleśvari. (16) Sangameśvara stood at the junction of Varuṇá and Alakanandá. [He also saw] other holy places like the Dhutapápa [or remover of sin]. (17) On the north Náganátha, and Śiva under the name of Nibandheśa, then on the east Kedára, facing the south. (18) In the middle of the river, the sacred hot spring giving comfort to all beings; thence on the western side, also Tilabháṇḍeśvara. (19) In that Sangameśvara [there] was the well-known celebrated Párvatí; so [was] the superior god Gaṇeśa, the giver of the eight preternatural faculties, intelligence, and desires. (20) From thence, ont he western side, there was Gomukheśvaraka, then Svarṇavati Ganga, where there were three great goddesses Durgá. (21) Thus, the king Karṇa saw a holy place in his dream. Then the king awoke and comprehended at the same moment the meaning of everything. (22) He then resolved on making it his happy capital, and in the morning invited an astrologer of the Sáṇḍilya family, who was an inhabitant of Śrí Sangameśvara Kshetra, who was an austere and pious man, versed in the science of astronomy, and named Nṛisiñha. (23 and 24) Having duly honoured him with fruits and jewels, the King joyously asked him the propitious time. When the propitious time with propitious conjunction of stars and the support of the planets was mentioned by the astrologer, King Karṇa, having duly worshipped Kurma, Śesha, Varáha, &c., established his capital there. (25, 26) Nágapura was founded by Nága, and Singhaṇa by Singha. Then, abandoning Karavíra, they lived here many years. (27) Karṇa made Sangameśvara altogether like that Kshetra (*i.e.* Karavíra); and founded the principal *linga* after his own name. (28) Having spent a crore of gold pieces, that great-minded king built 360 temples there. (29) I will briefly mention the names of some of them. On the east, Bramheśa, graced by five (surrounding) gods; (30) the great god Karṇeśa, surrounded by ten other gods, and who is celebrated in Sangamakshetra, and is the giver of the means of subsistence and salvation. (31) On the river-side, Girijeśa (or the lord of Girija), and thereafter Kumbheśvara; the great goddess Ekavirá accompanied by 64 *gaṇás*. (32) Ravaṇeśa, near the Ganga, who is Śankara himself. It was a *linga* founded by Rávaṇa, which Karaṇa repaired. (33) There also was Várana-Tírtha, the destroyer of all sin, by bathing in and drinking of which, a mortal attains salvation. (34) Then there was Bhandapuráneśa, surrounded by five Náráyaṇás; also Mahákaleśvara and Kopanátha. (35) In the middle of the city, Nagareśa, giver of the means of subsistence and salvation, by seeing whom only, a mortal can become sinless. (36) Then the god Someśvara, the seat of the god of the universe; then the great god Amriteśa, and next Pantajeśa. (37) Then Khadgeśvara, and Nandikeśa, surrounded by water. There was Kálabahirao for the protection of the Kshetra. (38) Facing the south, he was served by Siddhas and Gandharvas. By looking at him, living in the Kshetra becomes safe. (39) He who diligently worships him with the *banian* (*ficus indica*), fig (*ficus glomerata*), and other trees, would obtain his desires. (40) He who bathes in and drinks of the tírtha near Bhairava-

Bramheśvara attains Bramhaloka. (41) On its west is the great renowned tírtha Dnyánavápi, by the drink of which men on earth become acquainted with the *Bramha*. (42) Then the goddess Vindhyádriváśini, next Bramhakshetra, where formerly austere penance was performed by the seven Ṛishis. (43) Then the fourteen steps together with Vishṇu, where the manes desirous of salvation always dwell. (44) By offering funeral balls there, one should reap the fruit of performing the *śraddha* at Gayá. Then, the Vaitaraṇi-tírtha, giver of strength to the virtue of a chaste woman; (45) by bathing in it and drinking of it one does not see the region of Yáma [or Pluto]. There, also, by giving cows, one attains heaven. (46) Thence to the north is situated the perpetual banian-tree known as Akshayya Vaṭa (*imperishable*), (*ficus indica*), under which giving funeral oblations to the manes leads them to beatitude. (47) Thus a great holy place of this description was founded by King Karṇa; then he built a pleasant city named Saṅgama, (48) and placed on the eastern side Bharavas endued with bliss, Wastoshpatis (*i. e.* guardians), Kírtimukhas, a class of demons. (49) The Bharava at the door was the King's giver of gifts. The extent of this holy place was undoubtedly five kośa. (50) By bathing and heaping gifts there, the manes of ancestors attain heavenly bliss. By worshipping Someśvara always, a sonless man obtains a son. (51) He who worships Sapteśa does not become subject to disease. By the worship of Vaijanátha a man shall always become successful. (52) On the south-east is a burning-ground leading to heaven for the deliverance of the manes of ancestors. On the west from Satragaṇanátha is the Svarṇaváhini. (53) On the north [is] the village Turvari, so on the south [is] Sapteśa. This holy place of five kośa in extent is the giver of the means of subsistence and salvation. (54) Around this are eight well-known habitations of the Śákti (goddesses), and eight tírthas in the eight quarters of this holy place. (55) In the east [is] the Kamalajá tírtha, always presided over by Kamalá. By bathing and giving at that *tírtha*, a man becomes wealthy. (56) There also is the Goshpada-*tírtha*, the destroyer of all sickness; even now a beautiful *liṅga* is visible in the Goshpada-tírtha. (57) In the south-east is the Gautama-tírtha, founded by Gautama, by bathing and giving at which a man is delivered from all sins. (58) In the south lies the *Agastya*-tírtha, inhabited by multitudes of Ṛishis, where, by bathing and drinking, [sins such as] the killing of a Bráhmaṇa, &c. are destroyed. (59) In the south-west is the Ekavirákhya-tírtha, with a class of heavenly beings called Siddhas. By drinking of it, injury from infernal beings immediately ceases. (60) In the west, there where the rivers Váruṇa and Svarṇa unite, is the tírtha Váruṇa, visited by Siddhas and Gandharvas, crowded by various classes of Rishis, and adorned by various trees. By bathing and drinking there no danger from water arises. (61, 62) In the north-west is the Gaṇanátha, ever fond of drinking milk. No doubt, by worshipping him even an idiot shall become a Paṇḍit. (63) There is a very pure and sacred tírtha named Gaṇeśa, by the drinking of which the dumbness of men vanishes. (64) In the north is the great superior tírtha Mallarika, where dwells the venerable Śiva, the destroyer of Malla, and the giver of all desired objects. (65) By bathing there, a person is liberated from all diseases. That mortal who on a Sunday would with devotion worship

Mallari in company of Párvatí with powdered turmeric, fruit, flowers and meal shall meet with all success difficult even for the gods to obtain. (66, 67) In the north-east is the great goddess Mahishasuramardini (destroyer of Mahishasura). By worshipping her feet danger from an enemy immediately disappears. (68) There also is the very pure and holy tírtha Gauri. By bathing in and drinking its waters men shall gain health quickly. (69) At these eight holy places, offering funeral cakes and oblations, bathing, giving, meditating, and sacrificing, all shall become everlasting. (70) That king had a great fortress in the east occupied by several warriors and possessed of various riches. (71) The King granted nine villages to the Karṇeśá for maintenance [of the establishment] of Dharmapur for charitable purposes; Guṇavalliká for betelnuts, Devanimichaka village for refreshment, Śivani for ghee, Lavala for meals, Phanas for fruits, Dhamani for a charitable ferry, Kadamba and Áptravallika for the god's servants. (72, 74) He granted the whole Katuki village to Someśa, and the village Turiya to Kedára and Someśa jointly. (75) The powerful King Karṇa founded Rámakshetra in the year 100 of the Śáliváhana era. (76) In his kingdom there is no poverty, no separation of friends, no sonless person, none diseased, none foolish. (77) In this *Kṣhetra* the Bráhmaṇas are versed in all kinds of knowledge, possessed of all qualities, skilled in the 64 arts, and rich in penance. (78) In this *Kshetra* that wicked mortal who lives disrespectfully, even losing his merit, becomes poor instantly. (79) In this *Kshetra*, inhabited by gods and Bráhmaṇas, he who enjoys the company of the good cannot but reach the presence of Śiva. (80) He who built the temple of Mahálakshmí at Karavíra (Kolhápur), the same built the temple of Karṇeśa here. (81) When the temple was completed, the noble-minded king paid ten thousand pieces of gold to the master-builder. (82) At the palace of that king there also lives a master-poet of the name of Śesha, who composed this for the delight of that gentle and abstemious king. (83) Someśa and other *liṅgas* seen in the dream by the king were all formerly established by Rághava. (84) The greatness of these liṅgas is also described at length in the *Sahyádri Khaṇḍa* by the venerable Vyása. (85) The *ślokas* therein are the following :—As the delightful Káśi, Prayága, Pushkara, Prabhása, Naimisha Kshetra, Chakra-Pushkariṇí are celebrated, so is this great city named Saṅgama. There are ten holy places established by Ráma. Among the ten, six are superior; the names of which hear from me :—Gokarṇa, Saptakoteśa, Kuṇakeśa, Saṅgama, Harihara, and Tryambakeśa. There are six holy places :—Kuddaleśa (Kudal?), Dhútapápa, Dálabheśa (Dabhol), Vardhana (Shrivardhana?), and the great god Rámeśvara. These are the five holy places. Even Bhargava Ráma, by his devotion, founded the *liṅgas* at Saṅgameśvara in the vicinity of Śiva. (86-89) These are the *ślokas* in the *Sahyádri Khaṇḍa*. The preceding *ślokas* are the principal ones describing Saṅgameśvara composed by Śesha, and forming part of a work named *Karṇasudhánidhi*.

Art. III.—*Memoir on the History of the Tooth-relic of Ceylon.* By J. Gerson da Cunha, Esq., M.R.C.S. and L.M. Eng., L.R.C.P. Edin., &c.

Read 13th March 1875.

The field hitherto explored of Śâkyamuni's philosophy being already so wide, and the domain of Buddhistic literature so extensive, it appears surprising that so interesting a subject as the Tooth-relic of Gautama Buddha, with its romantic wanderings and adventures, should so seldom be alluded to. It is only the ancient *vaṅśas* or classical chronicles of Ceylon and of the kingdoms of the Malay Peninsula, and books chiefly descriptive or historical of those countries, that contain some meagre accounts of the tooth-relic, so thinly scattered among a large mass of other topics that not unfrequently they are entirely overlooked.

There is no lack of arguments, however, to justify this neglect, the principal being the absolute want until lately of trustworthy and complete translations of the ancient Buddhist annals into modern languages, especially the two most familiar in Europe—the French and the English*—and the spirit of the marvellous, so characteristic of the infancy of civilization, predominating amongst them, and producing an admixture of the fantastic with the real, so fatal to the rigidness and severity of historical truth, and totally repugnant to the stoical lover of dates and facts.

It is well known that while tradition and documentary evidence are by one party pressed forward in support of the statement that the so-called *Dalada* or tooth-relic of Buddha was captured and destroyed by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century A.D., it is contended by the other that it is still preserved in the Maligâva temple at Kandy, as fresh as when it was first rescued by Khema from the great teacher's funeral pyre in Kuśinagara,† about twenty-five centuries ago.

* "Qui veut arriver à un grand public doit aujourd'hui écrire en anglais ou en français."—Edouard Laboulaye, *Dis. Prelim.* Vassilief's *Bouddisme*, Paris, 1865, p. xvi.

† Kuśinagara, the scene of Buddha's *nirvâṇa*, has been identified with Kâśiâ, about 110 miles N.NE. of Benares. It is believed that the very spot marked in ancient times by a reclining figure, representing Buddha in the attitude in which he died, may now be recognized in the site of the *stûpa* or heap of ruins the name of which is translated as "the foot of the dead prince," while the

Both statements, so diametrically opposed, cannot of course be correct.

Partly from a desire to collect all the available information that may serve to throw light on the subject, especially from the Portuguese annalists of the period and their European contemporaries, and partly from the interest and curiosity I, with several others, feel in all that concerns the venerable Hindu sage, this attempt at one connected and continuous narrative has been made.

The earliest authentic records of this tooth-relic of Buddha are—FIRST, the *Daladâvaṅsa* or *Dhâtâdhâtuvaṅsa*, contracted into *Dhâtuvaṅsa* or Chronicle of the Tooth, of unknown authorship, written formerly in Elu, the ancient language of the Sihalese, about the year 310 A.D., and translated into Pâli by the priest Dhammakitti Thera in the thirteenth century A.D.* SECONDLY, the *Mahâvaṅsa*, a metrical chronicle, which literally means 'the Genealogy of the Great,' containing the early history of the kings *Mahavaṅse*, or the Great Dynasty, of Ceylon. The first section of this Odyssey of the Siñhalese, extending from 543 B.C. to 301 A.D., was compiled in the reign of his nephew, the king Datusena, between the years 459 and 477 A.D., by the priest Mahânamo, and is based both on the *Dîpavaṅsa*—a work of greater antiquity but yet of unknown authorship, which unfortunately ends just before the events recorded in the *Dhâtuvaṅsa* took place—and on annals in the vernacular language then existing at Anuradhâpura, the ancient capital of Ceylon. The second section was written in the reign of the *Saluvaṅse*, or the Inferior Dynasty, the story of whose line occupies the continuation of this mystic chronicle. It was the king Paṇḍita Parakrâma Bâhu III. who caused it, under orders of another illustrious king of the same name, to be extended as far as the year 1266 A.D.; and thence the narrative has been carried on, under subsequent sovereigns, down to the year 1758 A.D., the latest chapters being compiled by command of Kṛiti Śrî, the king of Kandy, partly from Siñhalese works brought back from Siam, and partly from native historical accounts preserved from the general destruction decreed about the year 1590 A.D. by the apostate from Buddhism, Râja Siñha I. It is the second section that alludes to the history of the tooth. THIRDLY, the *Râjavali*, a work of

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spot where his body was burned would correspond with the site of the *great stûpa* called *Devisthân*.—Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 431, 432; Alabaster's *Wheel of the Law*, p. 165.

* According to Mr. D'Alwis the *Dathavaṅsa* appeared in 1328 A.D., but he gives no authority for this statement: *Introduction to Sidat Sangarâwa*, p. clxxv.

different hands, compiled from local annals and used generally as a corollary or addition to the *Mahâvańsa*,* as well as to the *Râjaratnâkarî*,—the latter also a valuable historical work, deservedly held in high estimation by the Buddhists as a record of events from 540 B.C. to the settlement of the Portuguese in the metropolis of their religion in India. The *Râjavali* continues the narration through the mighty struggle for political ascendancy between the Portuguese and their rivals the Dutch, which resulted in the latter gaining possession of Colombo, and ultimately of all the maritime districts of the island.† FOURTHLY, the *Phrâ Pâthom*, a Siamese version of a Pâli work partially translated by Colonel Low.‡

The *Dhâtuvańsa*, which, as chronicling the events connected with the tooth, is naturally regarded as the great authority on the subject, is said to have been written, as already mentioned, about 310 A.D., when the relic was first brought to Ceylon from Dantapura (Odontopolis) in Kalinga, in Southern India.§ The original work in Elu is said to have experienced the fate that befell all the Siñhalese chronicles and commentaries during the reign of Parakrâma the Great's widow, Lilâvatî, who reigned as queen at Pollanarua three times, and was dethroned as often—in 1197–1200, 1209–10, and again in 1211–12 A.D.—that of being entirely rewritten in Pâli, which unfortunately caused almost all the Elu works to disappear; although Turnour, well known as the Colebrooke of the Siñhalese *savants*, notes that it was still extant in Ceylon in 1837.|| As regards the antiquity of the

* It is also said that ample allusion is made to the tooth-relic in several chapters of the untranslated portions of the *Mahâvańsa*.

† Upham's *Collection of Tracts*, &c., Lond. 1833. Burnouf's articles in the *Journal des Savants*, 1833 (Sept.), 1834 (Jan. and Apr.).

‡ *Jour. R. As. Soc. Beng.*, Cal. 1848, vol. xvii., pt. ii., p. 82.

§ The town of Dandagula, the Dantapura of the Buddhist chronicles, is now Râjamâhendri, which is about 30 miles to the north-east of Koringa: see Colonel Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 518-19. Another Dantapura is said to have been situated on the northern bank of the Krishna, and to correspond with the modern Amarâvatî, one of the ancient Tri-Kalingas.

|| *Jour. As. Soc. Beg.*, Cal. 1837, vol. i., pp. 856 *et seq.* Turnour also supposes the tooth-relic of Ceylon to be alluded to in the opening passage of the *Firuz Lât* Inscription, but this has been questioned by later writers.

The inscription, facing west, is as follows:—"The Râja Pându, who was the delight of the Devas, has thus said: 'This inscription on *Dhammo* is recorded by me in the twenty-seventh year of my inauguration. My public functionaries intermingle among many hundred thousands of living creatures, as well as human beings. If any one of them should inflict injuries on the most alien of these beings, what advantage would there be in this my edict? [On the other hand,] should these functionaries follow a line of conduct tending to allay alarm, they would confer prosperity and happiness on the people, as well as on the country; and by such a benevolent procedure they will acquire a know-

Dhâtuvaṅsa, to prove that it was really composed 310 A.D., or, at the latest, some time before the end of the fifth century of our era, an argument founded on this work being alluded to in the 37th chapter of the *Mahâvaṅsa*—which, as above stated, was compiled between 459 and 477 A.D.—has been put forth. In the *Mahâvaṅsa* the chronicle is referred to thus:—"In the ninth year of his reign Śrîmeghavana (or Meghavarṇa, possibly the Varâja of the Western Cave Inscriptions—see *Jour. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. v., p. 42), a certain Brâhmaṇa princess brought the *Dhâtâdhâtu* or tooth-relic of Buddha hither from Kaliṅga, under the circumstances set forth in the *Dhâtâdhâtuvaṅsa*." Now the *Mahâvaṅsa*, notwithstanding its accepted authenticity and chronological precision, was not completed, as before mentioned, between 459 and 477 A.D. It contains a hundred chapters in all, divided into sections, and only its first section, compiled within that interval, extends to 301 A.D. or the end of Mahâsena's reign, while the *Dhâtuvaṅsa* is said to have been written when the relic was removed to Ceylon, in the ninth year of the reign of his successor, *i.e.* 310 A.D.

Difficult as it is, then, to assign a fixed date to its composition, concurrent circumstances, too tedious to enumerate here, have led

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ledge of the condition both of the prosperous and of the wretched, and will at the same time prove to the people and the country that they have not departed from *Dhammo*. Why should they inflict an injury either on a countryman of their own or an alien? Should my functionaries act tyrannically, my people, loudly lamenting, will be appealing to me, and will appear also to have become alienated [from the effects of orders enforced] by royal authority. Those ministers of mine who proceed on circuits, so far from inflicting oppressions, should cherish the people as the infant in arms is cherished by the wet-nurse; and those experienced circuit ministers, moreover, like unto the wet-nurse, should watch over the welfare of my child (the people). By such a procedure my ministers would ensure perfect happiness to my realm.

"'By such a course, these (the people) released from all disquietude, and most fully conscious of their security, would devote themselves to their avocations. By the same procedure, on its being proclaimed that the grievous power of my ministers to inflict tortures is abolished, it would prove a worthy subject of joy, and be the established compact (law of the land). Let the criminal judges or executioners of sentences [in the instances] of persons committed to prison, or who are sentenced to undergo specific punishments, without my special sanction, continue their judicial investigations for three days, till my decision be given. Let them also, as regards the welfare of living creatures, attend to what affects their conservation, as well as their destruction; let them establish offerings; let them set aside animosity.

"'Hence those who observe and who act up to our precepts would abstain from afflicting another. To the people also many blessings will result by living in *Dhammo*. The merit resulting from the charity would spontaneously manifest itself.'"—Turnour on the Inscriptions on the Columns at Delhi, &c.

I quote these lines from the edition of the *Dhâtuvaṅsa* by Sir Swâmi, who, in respect to the inscription, says: "The spirit of universal charity and philanthropy which animates this draft is not unworthy of the consideration of the present enlightened rulers of the great Indian empire."—*Introd.*

scholars, like Turnour and others, to think that at least the first portion of it was written some time before the end of the 5th century of the Christian era, and that two sections were subsequently added to it, bringing the history of the *dalada* down to the middle of the eighteenth century.

Dhammakitti Thera, the author of the Pâli work—who among his other titles to eminence takes to himself that of a royal preceptor, and flourished in the thirteenth century of our era—has written a preface to his book,* in which he lays down the following reasons for undertaking the task of translating the *Daladâvaṅsa* from Elu:—(1) That the *Mahâvaṅsa*, merely referring to the *Daladâvaṅsa*, says scarcely anything about the relic; (2) that the *Daladâvaṅsa* is too long, being full of details about the death of Buddha and the history of the relic immediately after that event; and (3) that the Elu language, in which the *Daladâvaṅsa* is written, is hard for the Siṅhalese to understand. In the poem itself (ch. v., v. 10, of Sir Swâmi's edition), he adds a fourth, viz. "for the benefit of those who live in other lands." From this it is apparent that Thera not only translated, but even abridged, the original. It terminates just at the period of the arrival of the relic at Anurâdhapura, in Ceylon.† Of the translation Turnour was the first to give a brief analysis, in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* in 1837, and it was only last year that a translation into English was published in London by Sir Swâmi. It is an excellent translation, so far as I am able to judge, but I cannot help concurring with Mr. Rhys Davids, who in a review of the work writes:—"It is to be regretted that the interesting history of the tooth has not been more thoroughly discussed in the Introduction." (*The Academy*, Sept. 1874, p. 341.)

Besides these there are other accounts of the relic, of secondary importance, but all bearing testimony to the devotional feeling, heroic achievements, magnificent designs, and bitter disappointments of which it has been the witness. There has probably never been a relic which has given rise to so much controversy, or created so much dis-

* This preface is not given in Sir Swâmi's translation. See *The Academy*, Sept. 1874. Nor have the two sections bringing the history of the *dalada* down to the middle of the eighteenth century been given.

† The epic poem of the *Dhâtuvaṅsa*, in the form in which it is translated by Dhammakitti Thera, is said to be considered by Siṅhalese scholars as the best specimen of the mediæval Pâli literature, and the original in Elu as "a very elaborate work, which ranks among the classics of the Siṅhalese." Some people, however, look upon it as but a poor imitation of Kâlidâsa's *Raghuvaṅsa*, possessing the same artificial style of composition in high-flown and ornate language, but not the rich imagination of the Sanskrit poet. See *Athenæum*, Feb. 20, 1875, p. 258.

cord, between two such great religious bodies as the Brâhmaṇs and the Buddhists, as the tooth of Buddha, exerting its influence on Indian society from that reformer's death to the present time. Its adventures, trials and triumphs afford the best indications of the tenets of its persecutors, and the firm belief and superstitious tenacity of its votaries.

The history of the left upper canine-tooth, or, as vulgarly called, the left eye-tooth, may be divided into two periods, viz. the first from the death of Buddha to its removal to Ceylon, and the other from that time to the present.*

The tooth is said to have been saved from the flames by one of his disciples named Khema, while the funeral obsequies of Buddha were being celebrated at Kuśinagara in the magnificent funeral pile in the forest of *sâl* trees, near the spot where he expired in B.C. 543, and whilst the princes of the surrounding countries were quarrelling for the possession of the relics.† When in his possession he was commissioned to take it to Dantapura or the Tooth-city, the capital of Kaliṅga, and deliver it over to the king Brahmadatta, who, along with his son and grandson Kari and Sunanda, greatly honoured this relic of the divine sage by offerings and festivals. In Dantapura it remained thus honoured for about eight hundred years, in spite of the Brahmanical protests against "a piece of human bone" being set up as an object of worship. At the expiration of this long period

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* In the *Dhâtuvaṅśa* the first four cantos are taken up with the history of the relic before its arrival in Ceylon, and the fifth and last with its history in Ceylon until the close of the reign of Meghavarna. See also Forbes's *Dangistra Dalada, Ceylon Almanac*, 1835, and Ritter's *Erdkunde*, vol. ix., p. 201.

† Mr. Rhys Davids states that it would be interesting to know whether there is any mention of this in the *Mahâparinibbâna-Sutta*, the text of which, with a translation, is being published by Mr. Childers, while an ancient Elu work named *Thúpavaṅśa*, a history of the principal *dâgobâs* in India and Ceylon, and reckoned by the Buddhists among their sacred scriptures, although not belonging to the 'Three Baskets,' describing minutely the death of Buddha, passes over this fact quite in silence. (*The Academy, loc. cit.*) The former refers to the times following the attainment of *Parinirvâṇa*, or state of extinction, by Gautama Buddha, and throws some light, fragmentary though it be as a record, on the ancient history of India, and on the struggles between Brahmanism and Buddhism for supremacy in Kaliṅga in the South and Pâṭnâ in the North; the latter—a history partly of miracles, and partly of the superstitious ideas of a worship which, though loathsome, as Sir Swâmi justly observes, to the Hindu mind, and repugnant to the genius of Gautama himself—remains the sole symbol and substance of faith amongst the people, to whom the higher teachings of Buddhism are unknown, and this worship is kept up with a considerable degree of state and splendour out of the revenues derived from extensive lands and states with which their temples had been endowed in olden times by the Siñhalese sovereigns and others. It is rather interesting

we are told that Guhasiñha, a king of Dantapura, apparently ignorant of the very existence of the tooth, notwithstanding his capital being named after it, seeing one day a great festival going on in the city, inquired the cause of it, and was informed by a Buddhist priest that the people were worshipping the relic of Buddha which Khema, some eight centuries before, had brought over there. Thereupon Guhasiñha, recalled from apathy and infidelity by the remonstrances of his minister—who represented to him the unanimous belief of the people in the power of the relic—renounced heresy, and, with all the zeal and intolerance of a neophyte, persecuted and expelled from his kingdom all the Hindu devotees, called in the *Dhâtuvaṅśa* '*Niganthas*,' a sect of Śaivites elsewhere called *Achailakas* (*Ajîvakas* or naked ascetics), who had hitherto enjoyed his favour. This took place early in the fourth century of our era.

To revenge themselves for this outrage, the Niganthas repaired to the kingdom of Pâṭaliputra, modern Pâṭnâ, and prevailed upon its sovereign—whose name is given as Pâṇḍu, and who is probably the Gautamaputra of the Satkarṇi dynasty, also called the Emperor of all India—to commission a subordinate râja named Chaitâyana to start at the head of a large army for the Kaliṅga country and bring his tributary king Guhasiñha from Kaliṅga, and the tooth, to him. This ultimatum was conceived more or less in these terms :— Whereas he (Pâṇḍu) worshipped the true gods Brahma, Vishṇu, and Maheśa, his subject Guhasiñha in Dantapura worshipped day and night a piece of bone of a dead body; therefore Guhasiñha must repair to his court, bringing the relic with him. Chaitâyana accordingly proceeded with a great army to Dantapura, where he was most amicably received by Guhasiñha, who entertained him as an honoured guest, and related the history of the relic in justification of his conversion to Buddhism. The narrative made such an impression on Chaitâyana and his officers that they requested an inspection of the wonderful relic, which being willingly complied with, Guhasiñha opened the casket, exposed the relic, and implored a recurrence of the miracles it had already wrought, which were once more repeated, and ended in the conversion both of Chaitâyana and his army to Buddhism.

to learn that the Siñhalese, besides the 'History of the Tooth,' are also in possession of the *Kesâdhâtuvaṅśa*, the 'History of Buddha's Hair,' mentioned in the 39th chapter of the *Mahávaṅsa*, a translation of which has been lately published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. They have got also the *Lalâṭavaṅśa*, or the 'History of the Frontal Bone relic of Buddha,' whose date and author are yet unknown. See *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. vii., 1871.

As the order of the Emperor of all Jambudvîpa could not be disobeyed, Guhasiñha, accompanied by Chaitâyana, departed to the court of the suzerain at Pâṭaliputra, bearing with him in a splendid procession the precious relic, amidst the tears and lamentations of his people, and crossing rivers and mountains they in one time reached Pâṭaliputra. Then commenced what Buddhists term the trials of the *dalada*. Pâṇḍu, exasperated with rage at what he regarded the perversion of his army, commanded the tooth to be cast into a large pit prepared in the courtyard of his palace and filled with glowing charcoal, that it might be annihilated: "Throw now into a burning heap of charcoal," said the emperor, "the bone worshipped by this man, who has abandoned the gods worthy of adoration, and burn it without delay:" *Dhâtuvaṅśa*, ch. iii., v. 10. The order was obeyed, but by the mystical power of the relic a lotus-flower of the size of a chariot-wheel arose above the flames, and the sacred tooth, emitting rays which ascended through the skies and illumined the universe, alighted on the top. This is supposed by a writer to explain the esoteric meaning of the Buddhist formula *Om mane padme horem*, 'The jewel is in the lotus.'* Pâṇḍu then subjected it to several other trials and indignities to destroy or dishonour it, such as throwing it into a deep and filthy ditch, which speedily became a clear pond covered with five kinds of lotus-flowers, on one of which the relic was seen reposing; burying it in the earth to be trodden down by elephants' feet, but, "spurning a subterraneous retreat and bonds of clay," it reappeared in the centre of another golden lotus-flower: thus coming out of all of these trials quite unscathed. He at last directed that the tooth should be placed on an anvil and smashed with a ponderous sledge-hammer, but the tooth penetrated and became imbedded in the anvil, where it remained safe and immoveable. The irate king, finding all efforts to extract it unavailing, then proclaimed that whoever would remove the tooth should receive a great reward. Whereupon, several persons having made attempts to extract it but in vain, a pious Buddhist, by name Subhadrâ, at last, after expounding the doctrines, and history of Buddha, evoked the relic, which immediately disengaged itself from the iron and floated in the water placed in a golden bowl which Subhadrâ held. The emperor, however, at the instigation of his

* "At that moment the tooth-relic of Buddha, ascending to the skies, and illumining all directions like the planet Venus, pleased the people, their doubts being removed."—*Dhâtuvaṅśa*, ver. 54. Also see *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Record*, Lond. 1838, p. 90.

advisers the Brâhmaṇs, who were persistent in saying that the bone must then be of one of the *avatárs* of their own deities,* to prevent a further succession of miracles hardened his heart and remained for some time a sceptic, uutil at the entreaty of his officers he renounced his incredulity, which also helped to confirm the wavering and convert the unbelieving, and took refuge in the *three treasures* Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha, and built a magnificent temple for the tooth-relic, which at the close of his reign was reconveyed to Dantapura.† While all this was going on, a northern king—we are not told whence he came‡—attacked the capital in order to possess himself of the wonder-working relic, but sustained a complete defeat beneath the walls of the city and was killed. Guhasiñha returned home in triumph, but new dangers awaited him here, and fresh enemies attacked the city. He was shortly after besieged in his capital by the nephews of Kherâdhara, who had allied themselves with other chieftains. Thus having pitched their camp near the city, they sent this message, disagreeable to the ear:—"Either give us the tooth-relic of Sugata, or instantly play the war-play which confers renown and prosperity:" p. 62, *Dhâtuvaṅśa.* Apprehensive of the power by which he was being assailed, and seeing that resistance would be hopeless, Guhasiñha before going to the combat gave the tooth, which was the object of the besieger, in charge to Dantakumâra, his son-in-law, a prince of Avantî (Oujein), and a zealous Buddhist, and to his daughter Hemamâlâ, called also Bânavali (Hemamâlâ means literally 'a chain of gold'), enjoining them to escape by sea and convey it to the king Mahâsena of Ceylon, who had been for some time negotiating for its purchase; then leading his troops out against his opponents he fell in the battle. His daughter, with her husband, in the meanwhile, disguised as Brâhmaṇs, secretly conveyed the relic from Kaliṅga, buried it in the sand, as the image of Jagannâtha is said to have been in the Brahmanical accounts, then concealed it in her hair, and contriving to reach the shore took a ship from the

* "O King, there were in the world various incarnations of Janârdhana, such as Râma and the like; this bone is a part of him. If not, whence such influence as this?"—*Dhâtuvaṅśa*, ch. iii., v. 19.

† The king Pâṇḍu, penitent for the indignities offered to the tooth, consoled himself with the confession that he had subjected it to trials with the laudable purpose to procure triumph to true religion. "Gems," said he, "are of acknowledged perfection after they have passed through the fire; and gold becomes more valuable after its purity has been subjected to proof."—*Dhâtuvaṅśa, loc. cit.*

‡ Forbes says, king of Saewat-nuwera.—*Eleven Years in Ceylon*, vol. i., p. 216.

coast at Tâmralipi or Tamluk, a port supposed to be situated on one of the mouths of the Ganges. The fugitives arrived at Ceylon in safety, after undergoing great hardships, and overcoming an immense number of obstacles.* This took place in the ninth year of the reign of Kṛiti Śrîmeghavarna, who reigned from 302 to 330 A.D., or, more precisely, about the year 310 A.D. The monarch, taking charge of it himself and rendering it in the most reverential manner the highest honours, deposited it in a casket of great purity made of *sphatika* stone, lodged it in the edifice called Dhâmmâchaka, built by Davananpiateva in Anurâdhapura, the ancient capital of the island, and spent an immense sum to celebrate a Dhâtâdhâtu festival, and ordained that a similar festival should be annually celebrated. The relic was then successfully transferred in procession to several shrines in Ceylon, till at last it was deposited, about the year 1268, in the Maligâva temple of Kandy, then called Śrîvardhanapura, amongst the mountains of Mâyâ, and the seat of the last native dynasty of Ceylon. It was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hian *circa* 413 A.D., who recounts the gorgeous ceremonies with which it was carried in procession to the mountains without, &c. (Fa-Hian's *Foe Houe Si*, ch. xxxviii., pp. 334 *et seq.*)

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* It would be exceedingly tiresome to enumerate these obstacles; one or two circumstances, however, are worth mentioning in detail. Halfway between the place of embarkation and Ceylon they are shipwrecked at a place called the Diamond Sands, which Mr. Fergusson supposes to be the banks of the river Kṛishṇa. The relic is stolen from the princess, while she is asleep, by the Nâga Râja, whose brother swallows other relics, (there were two *dronas* of relics of Buddha, besides, concealed in the kingdom of Nâga Râja), and flies to the Meru. By the power and intervention of a Thero or saint from the Himâlaya, the relic is restored and carried to Ceylon. The other relics are put into a golden cup; this is placed in a vase, and the whole put into a golden ship. A wooden ship is next built, having the breadth of a "beam of seven long cubits," and on board this vessel Hemamâlâ and Dantakumâra embark for their country. A *chaitya* is built for the relics on the Diamond Sands, which is believed to correspond with the Âmrâvatî Topes, supposed to have been built between 322 and 380 A.D., one of the sculptures of which represents in bas-relief a ship with two persons on board, and scenes of conference between a Nâga king and a prince accompanied by a lady; and the whole presents so many points of coincidence that the story about these adventures does not appear to be apocryphal or accidental. From other sources it is apparent that a canine tooth of Buddha was deposited for some time in the Kanheri Caves in Salsette, where a copper plate supposed to be dated 324 A.D. and recording the event was discovered, and from the narrative it is extremely probable that the Kanheri tooth is identical with the one which performed so many miracles in Pâṭaliputra. Also among the Bharahut antiquities and the paintings of Ajaṇṭâ we meet with scenes of gorgeous processions carrying relics, with figures of elephants and stags, which appear to have some affinity with the processional ceremonies connected with the tooth of Buddha. For details see *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, Lond. 1868, vol. iii., p. 132; *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. v., pp. 10-12; the *Indian*

The king Dhâtusena, who reigned 459 to 477 A.D., made a jewelled casket for it.

Parâkrama Bâhu the Great, between the years 1190 and 1195 A.D., built for it a beautiful little temple at Palastipura, still extant, the exquisite workmanship of which, according to Mr. Rhys Davids, has astonished all who have seen it.

About the year 1240 A.D. Vijayabâhu enshrined it at Dambadeneyâ, whence Bhuvanekabâhu I. took it to Yâpahu, which in the opinion of Rogers is the same Yâpahu the ruins of which capital may still be seen in the Seven Korles, and is also the Yâpana of Ribeiro.

Between the years 1303 and 1314 A.D., in the reign of Bhuvanekabâhu, or about ten centuries since its reaching Ceylon under the command of a man whose name is given as Aviyachchakkarvati, Kulisekera, the king of Paṇḍi, sent an army to invade Ceylon, and got possession of the tooth and carried it from Yâpahu in the Seven Korles, which was then the capital of the island, to their country in South India, supposed to be Madura, where, however, it did not remain long, for Parâkrama III., to retrieve the loss sustained by his predecessor, went in person to Paṇḍi to treat for it, and was successful in procuring its restitution and conveying it back safely to Ceylon. His son established it in 1319 A.D. at Hastiselapura. It is said that it continued to be for some time close to the sacred *Bo*-tree (*Ficus religiosa*) at Anurâdhapura, the most venerated object in Ceylon, which tree is said to have been a bough of the parent tree at Uruwela, sent by King Aśoka to Ceylon, under which Buddha himself, secluded from the world in his sublime musings and meditations, had sat for six uninterrupted years—planted by King Tissa in 288 B.C., and is consequently 2163 years old*—until

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Antiquary, vol. iii. p. 25; Mr. Fergusson's *Serpent and Tree Worship*, Lond. 1873; Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, Lond. 1871, pp. 530 *et seq.* Stirling's *History of Orissa* also throws some light on the subject, especially the war that took place among Rakta, Bihar, and Sirbhum, &c. about 318 A.D.—a very near approximation to the capture and fall of Dantapura.

* Ages varying from one to five thousand years have been assigned to the Baobabs of Senegal, the Eucalyptus of Tasmania, the Dragon-tree of Orotava, and the Chesnut of Mount Etna; but all these estimates are purely inferential, whereas the age of the *Bo*-tree is a matter of record, its conservation being an object of solicitude to successive dynasties. Compared with it the Oak of Ellerslie is but a sapling; and the Conqueror's Oak in Windsor Forest barely numbers half its years; the Yew-trees of Fountains Abbey are believed to be twelve hundred years old; the Olives in the Garden of Gethsemane were full-grown when the Saracens were expelled from Jerusalem; and the Cypress of Soma, in Lombardy, is said to have been a tree in the time of Julius Cæsar; yet the *Bo*-tree at Anurâdhapura is older than the

in the year 1560 A.D. the Buddhist world was startled by hearing that it had been captured and destroyed by the Portuguese. A relic the fame of whose prodigies had filled the air, regarded by Buddhists as a sacred treasure of inestimable value, a national palladium of the Ceylonese, to fall into the hands of infidels, was truly as frightful a catastrophe as might well be imagined; no wonder then that the native authorities strongly affirm that during the fray with the Portuguese in 1560 the relic was safely hidden in different parts of the island, at Delgamoa in Saffragam, at Kandy, and at Kotmalya, &c. The Portuguese historians, on the contrary, assert that a tooth mounted in gold which had been carried to Jaffna during the commotions in the Buddhist states, believed by all the Buddhists of Jaffnapatam and elsewhere to belong to Buddha, was really brought out of the spoils of a Buddhist temple to D. Constantino da Bragança, the Viceroy of Goa, who submitted it to the Inquisition there, which tribunal ordered that it should be crushed to pieces, cast into a brazier, and the ashes thrown into a running stream, in spite of the unlimited offers in exchange for the relic, made by the wealthy monarch who ruled in further India, and who was in the habit of despatching annual embassies to pay homage to the shrine.* But I cannot do better than reproduce

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oldest of these by at least a century, and would almost seem to verify the prophecy pronounced at the time it was planted by Tissa, that it would "flourish and be green for ever."—Sir Emerson Tennent's *Ceylon*, vol. iii., pp 613-15, quoted almost *verbatim*; De Candolle's *Bibl. Univers. de Génève*, tome xxi. p. 394. To this tree the Ceylonese attach the deepest interest. Mr. Childers says that the *Bo*-tree occupies in modern Buddhism the same position as the cross in Christianity. The *Mahâvañsa* gives in too great detail the manner in which the miraculous self-severance of the parent tree took place. Chapman tells us that in 1829 the tree consisted of five principal branches, none of which appeared to exceed the 'body of a man' in thickness; and there were, besides, "smaller branches grown out of the terraces at different points" (*Remarks on the City of Anurâdhapura, Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. xiii., p. 164.) Fa-Hian speaks of it as "letting down roots from its branches," which is more like the *Ficus Indica*; but this appears to be a mistake. We are told, again, that Buddha himself made frequent allusions to the growth of the *Bo*-tree as an emblem of the rapid propagation of his faith, just as the architectural form of the *stûpa* carried abroad another of the symbols by which Buddha used to illustrate his doctrines. About the superstitious reverence with which the tree is regarded in Ceylon the reader may see Butts's *Rambler in Ceylon*, Lond. 1841, pp. 221-242. On the right to appoint the chief priest of the sacred *Bo*-tree, and the claim that arose from the last incumbent dying suddenly from cholera without leaving any male issue, which gave rise to a trial and a historical romance similar to the Tichborne case; see the *Ind. Ant.* vol. i., p. 196.

* The fact of the capture of the tooth by the Portuguese is confirmed by the authority of Ribeiro, and by that of Rodrigues de Sá e Menezes, who in 1678 wrote his *Rebellion de Ceylan* to commemorate the exploits and death of his father, Constatino de Sá e Noronha, who perished at Badulla in 1630

here what Diogo do Couto so circumstantially tells us on the subject:—"The Viceroy, D. Constatino da Bragança, having conquered the kingdom of Jaffnapatam, went back to Goa with the king of that country fettered in irons, that were covered over with crimson velvet, and carried along with him also the sacred tooth." He then relates that "amongst the spoils of the principal temple they brought to the Viceroy a tooth mounted in gold, which was generally said to be the tooth of an ape,* but which these idolaters regarded as the most sacred of all objects of adoration. The Viceroy was immediately made aware that its value was inestimable, as the natives would be sure to offer vast sums to redeem it. They believed it to be the tooth of their great saint Buddha. This Buddha, so runs their legend, after visiting Ceylon, travelled over Pegu and the adjacent countries converting the heathen and working miracles; and death approaching, he wrenched this tooth from its socket, and sent it to

A.D. in the expedition to reduce the Kandians.—*Rebellion*, ch. i., p. 18; ch. vii., p. 99. Valentyn records also the fate of the tooth, and says it was kept near Adam's Peak till 1554.—*Beschryving van Oud en Neuw Oost Indien*, ch. xvi., p. 382. Sir Thomas Herbert, whose *Travels* were published in 1643, is truly indignant with the worship paid to the relic, and writes:—"Amongst others (which I mention only for the imposture) was that infamous Hanmant or Ape's-tooth god, which was highly esteemed and resorted to by millions of Indians till Constantino, a late Goan Viceroy, landing five hundred men at Colombo, first forcibly took away that Apish Idol, and upon their proffering a ransome of three hundred thousand duckets burned it to ashes. Notwithstanding which a crafty Bannyan so well forged another counterfeit as was believed by the Jogues to be the same (willing to be deluded, it seems), thereby exceedingly enriching himself, and joying not a little these simple Zeylonians."—*Some Years' Travels*, Lond. 1665, p. 359. Francis Pyrard de Laval, who visited Ceylon about 1608, relates the event as having occurred during the revolt of D. Joaõ (Modeliar?), which is posterior to the capture of the tooth-relic. The story of this revolt appears to have been treated in detail by Diogo do Couto in his XI. Decada, which unfortunately has been lost. For important documents on the subject the *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, Fasc. 3, may be consulted with advantage.

* Faria y Souza also states it to be the tooth of an ape, and a white ape (*Mono blanco*) besides, and according to Sir Emerson Tennent the facsimile at Kandy resembles the tooth of a crocodile rather than that of a man. The word 'ape' is further said to arise from confounding Buddha and Hanuman, the monkey-god.—Sir E. Tennent's *Ceylon*, vol. ii., p. 201. In the *Asia* of Faria y Souza I read the following:—"El venia a ser un diente de Mono blanco. Parece que este color, por improprio, ò inusitato en algunos animales, se haze no solamente admirabile, mas aun divino quando se halla en ellos. El aver salido blanco de las manos de la Naturaleza un Elefante del Rey de Siam, fue causa de codiciarlo el Bramà de Pegù; y la codicia dél, lo vino a ser de gran derramamiento de sangre entre aquellas dòs Naciones. Acà estotra blancura en el Mono vino a ser la ceguera (ciega mucho lo blanco en que son frequentes los ojos) de inumerables Almas. Finalmente siempre el Mundo se pierde por bestias amadas con excesso de los Principes dèl."—Cap. xvi., p. 350.

Ceylon as the greatest of relics. So highly was it venerated by the Siñhalese and by all the people of Pegu that they esteemed it above all other treasures.*

"Martin Alfonso de Mello happening to be in Pegu with his ship on business when the Viceroy, D. Constantine, returned (to Goa) from Jaffnapatam, the King, hearing that the tooth which was so profoundly revered by all Buddhists had been carried off, summoned Martin Alfonso to his presence and requested him, as he was returning to India, to entreat the Viceroy to surrender it, offering to give in exchange whatever might be demanded for it. Those who knew the Peguans, and the devotion with which they regarded this relic of the devil, affirmed that the King would willingly give three or even four hundred thousand cruzados† to obtain possession of it. By the advice of Martin Alfonso, the King despatched ambassadors to go in his company to the Viceroy on this affair, and empowered them to signify his readiness to ratify any agreement to which they might assent on his behalf.

"Martin Alfonso, on reaching Goa in last April (1561), apprised the Viceroy of the arrival of the envoys. The Viceroy,‡ after receiving

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* Decada VII., liv. ix., cap. ii., pp. 316 *et seq.* of the edition of 1783.

† *Cruzado,* so called from its bearing a cross, being coined at the period of the Crusades, is worth two shillings and nine pence.

‡ The Viceroy, D. Constantino de Bragança, was the fourth son of D. Jaime, fourth Duke of Bragança and a prince of the reigning dynasty of Portugal. He left Lisbon for India, when only 31 years old, on the 7th April 1558, and arrived at Goa on the 3rd September of the same year, and on landing took the usual oath as Viceroy of India. His name has remained dear to the Indo-Portuguese, as he was firm, wise, and benevolent. He has incurred, no doubt, the censure of the historian on account of the famous tribunal of the Inquisition being established in Goa during his government, but he had no hand in that affair, which was settled long before in Portugal. His piety is shown in his building the church of St. Thomas, in the Campo de S. Lazaro, in the old city of Goa, where it was his intention to enshrine the relics of the apostle St. Thomas, discovered by one Manoel de Faria, described in ancient documents as the Captain of the Coromandel Coast, in 1523, in the town of Meliapur; but the inhabitants of that place objected to their removal. The church, however, could not be finished during his stay in India, and is now in ruins, although in 1827 it allured the Abbé Cottineau to say mass at its altar on the day of the Apostle, 15th December. (See his *Journal* in the *Institute Vasco da Gama,* 1874, p. 200.) He admitted into intimate friendship the unfortunate poet Camoens, and through his politeness and good sense silenced those who were trying to procure the banishment of the satirist, whose *Disparates na India* had severely handled certain persons of influence in Goa. The Viceroy took an active part in those expeditions which were periodically sent to Ceylon and elsewhere for the propagation of Christianity, especially that of Jaffnapatam, which had been some years before fervently preached as a sacred vow by St. Francis Xavier, and for which he had to travel from Cochin to Bassein (see my *Notes on the History and Antiquities of Bassein, Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* 1874, p. 323). D. Constantino governed

them hospitably, opened the business for which they were sent by their king. They began the conversation by making a request for the tooth on behalf of their sovereign; offering in return any terms that might be required, with a proposal for a perpetual alliance with Portugal, and an undertaking to provision the fortress of Malacca at all times when called upon to do so, together with many other conditions and promises. The Viceroy promised an early reply, and in the meantime communicated with his veteran captains and fidalgos, all of whom were of opinion that so great an offer should be accepted, which would replenish the exhausted treasury; and so eager were they, that the question seemed to be decided.

"But the matter having reached the ear of the Archbishop, Don Gaspar,* he repaired instantly to the Viceroy, and warned him that he was not to permit the tooth to be ransomed for all the treasures of the universe, since it would be dishonouring to the Lord, and would afford an opportunity to these idolaters to pay to that bone the homage that belonged to God alone. The Archbishop reminded him often of the subject, and even preached against it from the pulpit in the presence of the Viceroy and all his court, so that Don Constantino, who as a good Catholic feared God and was obedient to the prelates, hesitated to proceed with the affair, or to take any step that was not unanimously approved of.

India until the 7th September 1561, and in January 1562 embarked on board his ship, the Constantina, built in Goa, which had doubled the Cape of Good Hope seventeen times, brought four Viceroys to India, and lasted altogether 25 years—a rare feat of navigation in those days: *Oriente Conquistado*, Dec. XI., cap. i., p. 193. His government was altogether prosperous, and the King, D. Sebastiaõ, whose offer to D. Constantino of the Viceroyalty of India for his lifetime had been politely declined, said to the Viceroy D. Luis de Ataïde on his second nomination to that post, "Allez," as Lafitau expresses it, "gouvernez comme a fait Don Constantine!" A very good portrait of the Viceroy D. Constantino is in the Governor's palace at Pangim or New-Goa, one at Damaun, one in Faria y Souza's, and another in Lafitau's works.

* D. Gaspar de Leaõ Pereira was a canon of the see of Evora who came to Goa as Archbishop in 1560 A.D. It was he who held the first consecration of bishops in the church of St. Paul, assisted by the Patriarch of Ethiopia and the Bishop of Malacca. The priest consecrated was a Jesuit by name Melchior Carneiro, Bishop of Nicæa, and a coadjutor of the abovenamed Patriarch. In the evening of the day of consecration he baptized in the church of *Santa Fé* 409 persons of the province of Salsete of Goa, in the presence of the four prelates. At that time Salsete contained only one church and a mission-house at Rachol, but at the end of fifty years it could boast of twenty-eight. The Patriarch could never reach Abyssinia, which circumstance induced him to resign his title and assume that of Bishop of China and Japan. He died in Macao about two years after his nomination.—*Bosq.*, *Hist. de Goa*, pp. 77 *et seq.*

"He therefore convened an assembly of the Archbishop, the prelates, divines, and heads of the religious orders, together with the captains, senior fidalgos, and other officers of the government, and laid the matter before them, saying that by the large offers of money that had been made for the tooth the pressing want of the state would be provided for.* After mature deliberation among all those theologians, who had it well studied beforehand, a resolution was come to, that it was not proper to part with the tooth, since its surrender would be an incitement to idolatry, and an insult to the Almighty—sins that should not be committed though the state, or even the world itself, might be imperilled. Of this opinion were the divines—the Archbishop; the Inquisitors, Fr. Antonio Pegado, Vicar-General of the Dominicans, Fr. Manuel da Serra of the same order, the Prior of Goa, Rev. Custodio de San Francisco, and another theologian of the same order; Rev. Antonio de Quadros, of the Company of Jesus, the Provincial of India; Rev. Francisco Rodrigues o Manguinho of the same order, and several others.

"Having resolved thus, and committed it to writing, to which all attached their signatures, and a copy of which is now in our possession in the Record Office (or in the Torre do Pombo),† the Viceroy called on the treasurer to produce the tooth. He handed it to the Archbishop, who, in their presence placed it in a mortar, and with his own hand reducing it to powder, cast the powder into a brazier which stood ready for the purpose, after which the ashes and the charcoal together were scattered into the river, in sight of all who were crowding the verandahs and windows which looked upon the water.

"Many protested against this measure of the Viceroy, since there was nothing to prevent the Buddhists (*gentios*)‡ from making other idols; and out of any piece of bone they would shape another tooth in resemblance of the one they had lost, and extend to it the same worship;

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* Some of these fidalgos wished to carry the relic themselves back to Pegu, and collect money on the way by exhibiting it to the Buddhist worshippers. Faria y Souza recounts this story, and Lafitau repeats it. "Ninguno dudava ya de que ella se haria, y muchos descubrieron la codicia de ser cada qual embiado a Pegù con el diente vendido, para ir mostrandole a los Gentiles por todas las Poblaciones que ay de una a otra parte, y juntar un Tesoro de las ofertas con que era creible avian de acudir todos a adorarle."—Faria y Souza *Asia Portugueza*, cap. xvi. on "Hazaña heroica y augusta del Vi-Rey D. Constantino," p. 352; Lafitau, *Hist. des Découv. et Conq.*, tome iv., p. 232.

† It does not exist at all.—*Boletim do Governo de Goa*, 1858, p. 660.

‡ The Portuguese apply the term *Gentio* (a Gentile) indiscriminately to a native of India, unless he is converted to Christianity or Mahomedanism.

whilst the gold that had been rejected would have satisfied the pressing needs of the state. In Portugal itself much astonishment was expressed that these proceedings should have been assented to.

"To commemorate the event, and to illustrate the spirit which had dictated an act approved by the Fathers of the Company, and signalized by zeal for Christianity and the glory of God, a device was designed as follows:—On a scutcheon was a representation of the Viceroy and the Archbishops surrounded by the prelates, monks, and divines who had been present on the occasion, and in the midst was the burning brazier, together with Buddhists offering purses of money, and above, the letter C, being the initial of Don Constantino, was repeated five times, thus—

C C C C C

and below it the five words—

Constantinus, cœli, cupidine, cremavit, crumenas—

the interpretation being that 'Constantine, devoted to heaven, rejected the treasures of earth.'"*

One can easily imagine the effect this imposing assembly of the Viceroy, prelates, and the notables of the old city of Goa, met for the purpose of pounding a piece of bone to dust, would have on the minds of the populace thronging the streets, the dismay of the wretched Peguan embassy at the sight of the destruction of their saint's relic, and the grim exultation of the stern Inquisitors over the dissolution of the *dalada* in the sacred waters of the Gomati, and the consequent promotion of the glory of God, the honour and prestige of Christianity, and the salvation of souls. If there ever was a point where two extremes met, it is this. The burning of a tooth for the glory of the Almighty was the point of contact between the sublime and the ridiculous. However, the doers of such an act took pride in it, and had a scutcheon made to commemorate their heroic deed. *Suum cuique.*

In later times the transaction appears to have been estimated in various ways, the clerical element delighting in the reminiscence of it, and the lay characterizing it as a fanatic and foolish action.

But it is difficult to please all. The Rev. Denis Louis Cottineau de Kloguen, a French missionary, writes:—"Constantine is also blamed and ridiculed for having refused to give to the king of Pegu

* Decada VII., liv. ix., cap. xvii., page 428 *et seq.*

a tooth (which some affirm to have been that of a monkey), but which had been revered as that of Buddha in a temple of Jaffnapattam in Ceylon, although that prince offered for it 300,000 cruzados; in this business Constantine acted as a conscientious and religious man; he consulted the Archbishop and clergy on this occasion, as he was afraid on the one hand of participating in an act of idolatry and superstition, and on the other of defrauding the King his master of a considerable treasure; and when it was made clear to him that, according to conscience and natural reason, it was unlawful to participate in an act of idolatry for any reason whatsoever, much less for a sum of money, which would be adding to the former guilt that of avarice, he immediately consented that the infamous relic should be thrown into the sea. If he had taken the money, he would certainly have been represented by prejudiced authors as a covetous man without law or conscience; but as he acted otherwise they call him a fool. It is very difficult, or rather impossible, to please those who are bent on blaming their fellow-creatures."*

But those were not really far from truth who thought that the Buddhists would shape another tooth out of any piece of bone. Long before the Peguan embassy's return home the Siñhalese had found out the tooth. Some said, as writes Padre Francisco de Souza in his *Oriente Conquistado*,† that the moment the Archbishop placed the tooth in the mortar and was about to pulverize it, it made its way through the bottom and went straight to alight on a lotus-flower in Kandy, where they have built for it a temple called Dalidagis, or temple of the sacred tooth. Others revived a facsimile not only in a duplicate, but in a triplicate form of the desecrated relic.

The story of the resuscitated tooth is of some importance, and is also minutely related by Couto, who writes:—"At the birth of Brahma, king of Pegu, the astrologers who cast his nativity predicted that he

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* *Historical Sketch of Goa*, pp. 33, 34.

† "Fingem os chingalas que o dente de Budu sahira pelo fundo do almofariz, quando D. Constantino (naõ; o arcebispo) o quiz desfazer, e se fora pôr em Candia sobre uma formosa rosa, e assim lhe dedicaram um famoso templo chamado Dalidagis, que significa 'casa do dente sagrado."—*Oriente Conquistado*; Conquista I., Divisaõ I., No. 82. The same author narrates the whole affair as minutely as Couto. His work, however, is very rare, and scarcely known, I believe, to English scholars. The work of Texeira Pinto on the causes of the decadence of the Portuguese possessions in Asia has also a recriminatory article on the subject, as he thinks the Portuguese Viceroy should have accepted the ransom-money proffered by the Buddhist king, which would have replenished their (in those times) empty coffers. But the priests reply to this with their warped and threadbare argument that "he was a freemason."

would marry a daughter of the king of Ceylon, who was to have such and such marks and features, and certain proportions of limbs and figure. Brahma, willing to fulfil the prediction, sent ambassadors to Don Juan (the king of Cotta), whom he addressed as the sole inheritor of the royal blood and the only legitimate sovereign of the island, and requested his daughter in marriage, accompanying the demand by a shipload of rich presents, consisting of things unknown in Ceylon, besides woven cloths and gems. The envoys arrived about the time that the king had abandoned Cotta to take up his residence within the Fort of Colombo (A.D. 1564). He received the ambassadors with much distinction, and, apprised of their mission, concealed from them the fact that the astrologers were in error, as he was childless. He had, however, brought up in his palace a daughter of his great chamberlain, a prince of the royal blood who had embraced Christianity through the instrumentality of the governor, Francisco Barreto, who had stood his godfather and given him his name; and such was the influence of this man, in addition to the claim of relationship, that in all things the king was directed by his advice. This girl the king treated with every honour as his own child; on the arrival of the envoys she had a place assigned to her at the royal table, and was addressed as his daughter, and under that designation he sought to make her wife to the king of Pegu. The opposition which he apprehended was from the Captain-General of Colombo and the Franciscans, who, although the girl was a Buddhist, might nevertheless regard her as a lamb within their fold, whom they could any day induce to become a Christian, and they were, therefore, likely to interfere to prevent her leaving the island. Discussing these considerations with the great chamberlain, who was a man of resources and tact, the latter pointed out to the king, who relied on his judgment in all things, that although forced to abandon Cotta, and reduced to poverty, he might, through this alliance, open up a rich commerce with Pegu; and he accordingly assented that the girl should be despatched to the king, provided she was conveyed away secretly and without the knowledge of the Portuguese at Colombo.

"But the chamberlain did more; in concert with the king he caused to be made out of a stag's horn a facsimile of the ape's tooth carried off by Don Constantine, and mounting it in gold he enclosed it in a costly casket, richly decorated with precious stones. Conversing one day with the Peguan ambassador and the Buddhist priests (talapoens) in his suite, who were about to set out to worship and make offerings at

the sacred footprint on Adam's Peak,* the chamberlain, who was a Buddhist at heart, disclosed to them in confidence that Don Juan, the Siñhalese king, was still in possession of the genuine tooth of Buddha,† that which was seized by Don Constantine being spurious, and that he, the great chamberlain, kept it concealed in his house, the king of Ceylon having become a Christian. The ambassador and the talapoens evinced their delight at this intelligence, and besought him to permit them to see it; he consented reluctantly, and, first obliging them to disguise themselves, he conducted them by night to his residence, and there exhibited the tooth in its shrine, resting on an altar, surrounded by perfumes and lights. At the sight they prostrated themselves on the ground, and spent the greater part of the night in ceremonies and superstitious devotion; afterwards, addressing the great chamberlain, they entreated him to send the relic to the king of Pegu at the same time with the princess, undertaking that, as a part of the splendour and pomp of the marriage, Brahma would send him a million of gold, and year by year despatch to Ceylon a present of a ship laden with rice and such other articles as might be required. All this was negotiated privately, the king and the great chamberlain alone being in the secret.

"When the time arrived for the young lady to take her departure, it was so cunningly arranged that neither the Captain of Colombo, Diogo de Mello, nor the priesthood suspected anything. Andrea Bayam Moodliar accompanied her as ambassador from the sovereign of Ceylon, and after a prosperous voyage they landed at a port to the south of Cosmi, and announced their success and the arrival of the queen, to the

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* Adam's Peak, in Ceylon, is the place where Buddha, on his arrival in the island, was invited by Santana, the guardian of the mountain, to leave an impression of his foot, the celebrated Śrī Pada ('beautiful footstep'), which has attracted travellers to the summit of he mountain from very remote times. Marco Polo alludes to it, and says it is so steep and precipitous that men are only able to mount to the top with the help of massive iron chains fixed to it. The footprint is a hole in the rock about five feet long, and represents a very rude outline of a foot. Still this does not prevent Buddhists from claiming it as the foot of Buddha, Śaivites as that of Śiva, Mahomedans as that of Adam, and Christians as that of St. Thomas. See Mr. Skeen's account of it; Hardy's *Manual*, p. 212; Alabaster's *Wheel of the Law*, p. 252; and Marco Polo's *Travels*, vol. ii., pp. 256-7. Mr. Skeen, a resident in Ceylon and the author of *Adam's Peak*, had in preparation, I am told, an elaborate work on the subject I am writing about—the Tooth-Relic of Ceylon; but most unfortunately, before the work was finished, he died suddenly about three years ago.

† Couto calls the tooth "*Dente do seu idolo Quijay*," in another place "*do Quiar*," which according to Tennent is the corrupt spelling of the Burmese *Phra*, another name for Buddha, or a modification of the Chinese Keu-tau.

delight of the king and his nobles. * * * The son and heir of the king received her as she disembarked * * * the king met her at the gates of the palace which was assigned to her as a residence, gorgeously furnished in chamber, antechamber, and wardroom with all that became the consort of so rich and powerful a monarch, who conferred upon her immense revenues to defray the charges of her household. For days he devoted himself to her society, conducted her to the royal residence, and with great solemnity required the people to swear allegiance to her as their queen. The eunuchs who waited on her imparted these particulars to Antonio Toscano, with whom they were intimate, and who communicated them to me.

"But as in these countries no secret is long preserved which is in any one's keeping, King Brahma came at length to discover that his wife was the daughter, not of the king, but of his chamberlain; for it seems that Andrea Bayam, the Siñhalese ambassador, who, as the proverb says, could not keep his tongue within his teeth, divulged it to some Chinese at Pegu, who acquainted the king. He, however, was little moved by the discovery, especially as the talapoens and ambassadors gave him an account of the ape's tooth, and of the veneration with which it was preserved, and of the arrangement which they had concerted with the person in charge of it. This excited the desire of Brahma, who regarded it as the tooth of his idol, and reverenced it above everything in life; even as we esteem the tooth of St. Apollonia (though I shall not say much of the tooth of that sainted lady); more highly than the nail which fastened our Saviour to the cross, the thorns which encircled his most sacred head, or the spear which pierced his blessed side, which remained so long in the hands of the Turks, without such an effort on the part of the monarchs of Christendom to rescue them as King Brahma made to gain possession of this tooth of Satan, or rather of a stag. He immediately despatched the same ambassadors and talapoens in quest of it, and sent extraordinary presents by them to the king of Ceylon, with promises of others still more costly. The ambassadors reached Colombo, negotiated secretly with Don Juan, who placed the tooth with its shrine in their hands with much solemnity and secrecy, and with it they took their departure in the same vessel in which they had arrived."* Again he continues:—

"In a few days they drew near to Cosmi, a port of Pegu, whence

* Decada VIII., cap. xii., pp. 74 *et seq.*

the news spread quickly; the priesthood (talapoens) assembled, and the people crowded devoutly to offer adoration to the tooth. For its landing they collected vast numbers of rafts elaborately and richly ornamented, and when they came to carry the accursed tooth on shore it rested on gold and silver and other costly rarities. Intelligence was instantly sent to Brahma at Pegu, who despatched all his nobles to assist at its reception, and he superintended in person the preparation of a place in which the relic was to be deposited. In the arrangements for this he displayed to the utmost all the resources and wealth at his command. In this state the tooth made the ascent of the river, which was covered with rich boats, encircling the structure, under which rested the shrine, so illuminated that it vied with the brightness of the sun.

"The king, when all was prepared, seated himself in a boat decorated with gilding and brocaded silks; he set out two days in advance to meet the procession, and on coming in sight of it he retired into the cabin of his galley, bathed, sprinkled himself with perfumes, assumed his most costly dress, and on touching the raft which bore the tooth he prostrated himself before it with all the gestures of profound adoration, and on his knees approaching the altar on which rested the shrine, he received the tooth from those who had charge of it, and raising it aloft placed it on his head many times with adjurations of solemnity and awe; then restoring it to its place, he accompanied it on its way to the city. As it passed along, the river was perfumed with the odours which ascended from the barges, and as it reached the shore the talapoens and nobles of the king, and all the chief men, advancing into the water, took the shrine upon their shoulders and bore it to the palace, accompanied by an inpenetrable multitude of spectators. The grandees taking off their costly robes spread them on the way, in order that those who carried that abominable relic might walk upon them.

"The Portuguese who happened to be present were astonished on witnessing this barbarous pomp; and Antonio Toscano, who I have stated elsewhere was of the party, has related to me such extraordinary particulars of the majesty and grandeur with which the tooth was received, that I confess I cannot command suitable language to describe them. In fact, everything that all the emperors and kings of the universe combined could contribute to such a solemnity, each eager to display his power to the utmost, all this was realized by the acts of this barbarian king.

"The tooth was at last deposited in the centre of the courtyard of the palace, under a costly tabernacle, upon which the monarch and all his grandees presented their offerings, declaring their lineage, all which was recorded by scribes nominated for that duty. Here it remained two months till the vihâra which they set about erecting could be constructed, and on which such expenditure was lavished as to cause an insurrection in the kingdom.

"To end the story, I shall here tell of what occurred in the following year, between the king of Kandy and Brahma, king of Pegu, respecting these proceedings of Don Juan, king of Ceylon. These matters which Don Juan had transacted so secretly, touching the marriage of his pretended daughter with the king of Pegu, as well as the affair of the tooth, soon reached the ear of the king of Kandy, who, learning the immense amount of treasure which Brahma had given for it, was influenced with envy (for he was a connection of Don Juan, having married his sister or, as some said, his daughter), and immediately despatched an envoy to Pegu, whom the king received with distinction. He opened the object of his mission, and disclosed, on the part of his master, that the lady whom Don Juan had passed off as his own child was in reality the daughter of the great chamberlain, and that the tooth, which had been received with so much pomp and adoration, had been fabricated out of the horn of a deer; but he added that the king of Kandy, anxious to ally himself with the sovereign of Pegu, had commissioned him to offer in marriage a princess who was in reality his own offspring, and not supposititious; besides which he gave him to understand that the Kandyan monarch was the possessor and depository of the genuine tooth of Buddha, neither the one which Don Constantine had seized at Jaffnapatam, nor yet that which was held by the king of Pegu, being the true one,—a fact which he was prepared to substantiate by documents and ancient *olas*.

"Brahma listened to his statement, and pondered it in his mind; but seeing that the princess had already received the oaths of fidelity as queen, and that the tooth had been welcomed with so much solemnity and deposited in a vihâra specially built for it, he resolved to hush up the affair, to avoid confessing himself a dupe (for kings must no more admit themselves to be in error in their dealings with us than we in our dealings with them). Accordingly he gave as his reply that he was sensible of the honour designed for him by the proffered alliance with the royal family at Kandy, and likewise by the offer of the tooth;

that he returned his thanks to the king, and as a mark of consideration would send back by his ambassadors a ship laden with presents. He caused two vessels to be prepared for sea, with cargoes of rice and rich cloths, one for Don Juan, and the other for the king of Kandy; and in that for Don Juan he embarked all the Portuguese subjects whom he had held in captivity, and amongst them Antonio Toscano, who has told me these things many times. These ships having arrived at Ceylon, the one which was for the Kandyan port had her cables cut and was stranded before she could discharge her cargo, so that all was lost and the ambassador drowned; some said that this was done by order of the Siñhalese king, Don Juan, and if so it was probably a stratagem of the great chamberlain, for the king himself had no genius for plots. Thus things remained as they were, nothing further having been attempted or done."*

The next curious episode in the history of the tooth-relic and the religious annals of Ceylon is the apostasy, or reversion to his former faith, of Dom Joaõ, and his seizure of the *dalada* as crown property. The Portuguese having roused the Kandyans to revolt against their king, Râja Siñha, Kanapû Bandar of Paradeucia, a political intriguer and Siñhalese of royal blood, who had been educated at Goa by the Jesuits and had embraced Christianity under the name of Dom Joaõ, was despatched with an armed force to enthrone Dona Catherina, the daughter of the fugitive king Jayaweira. The expedition was successful, and the Portuguese made arrangements for conferring the sovereignty on Dom Felipe, on whom they desired to bestow the hand of Queen Catherina, which arrangements, however, Dom Joaõ did not agree to. The consequence was that he turned his army against his allies, driving them away from Kandy, and removed his rival by poison. Thus left undisputed master of Kandy, D. Joaõ then seized on the supreme power, defeated the army of his native opponent, Râja Siñha, who had threatened to inflict on D. Joaõ the same torture as that under which his father had expired—that of being buried underground up to the neck and then the sufferings terminated by rolling huge stones on the head above the surface—and assumed the Kandyan crown under the fantastic name of 'Vimala Dharma.' Then he gave the last finish to his policy by abjuring Christianity, which secured to the usurper the support of the Buddhist priesthood, and raised the superstructure of his fortunes

* Decada VIII., cap. xiii., pp. 83 *et seq.* Although Sir Emerson Tennent has given these extracts from Couto in his work on Ceylon, I have drawn mine from the original and have compared them with his.

by producing the *dalada*, without which, as the national palladium inseparable from royalty, he could not venture to gain the suffrages of his people. It was the same *dalada* discovered by Vikrama Bâhu, and the apostate did not fail to persuade the Kandyans, already prone to believe it, that this was the original or genuine relic, which at the arrival of the Portuguese had been removed from Cotta and preserved at Delmagoa, while the one destroyed by the Portuguese was a counterfeit. This is the very relic that is now exhibited in the temple at Kandy.*

In spite, however, of all the circumstantial external and internal evidence, proving that the invaders had seized the relic, and that the priests in Goa, with the Archbishop at their head, had really opposed this traffic in idols as impious, and that their piety was triumphant in the scattering of the *dalada's* ashes into the waters of the Mandovi, there are not a few, although not Buddhists, who think that the Portuguese had really been mposed upon. Mr. Rhys Davids is one of them ; he writes :—"Jaffna is an outlying and unimportant part of the Ceylon kingdom, not often under the power of the Siñhalese monarchs, and for some time before this it had been ruled by a petty chieftain ; there is no mention of the tooth brought by Dantakumâra having been taken there,—an event so unlikely and of such importance that it would certainly be mentioned had it really occurred. We have every reason to believe, therefore, that the very tooth referred to in the work edited by Sir Coomara Swami is preserved to this day in Kandy."† But that the relic was at the same time within the range of the Portuguese army is also quite patent ; for the Siñhalese chronicles had no need to mention that during those troublous times the relic was concealed in Delmagoa, in Saffragam, and elsewhere, if it was so secure in its sanctuary of the Maligâva temple. And then, again, while thus roving about the island, might not their genuine *dalada* have actually fallen into the hands of the Portuguese ? And if spurious, then the king of Pegu had no necessity to offer such a handsome amount of money for it, which fact has not been denied. The dimensions and form of the *dalada*, the clumsy substitute manufactured by Vikrama Bâhu in 1566 to replace the original burnt by the Portuguese in 1560, are, moreover fatal to any belief in its identity with the one originally worshipped. The present *dalada* is said to resemble the tooth of a crocodile, as the old one was asserted to be that of a monkey. But it is neither. It is but

* Ribeiro, *Hist. d'Isle de Ceilan*, bk. i., ch. v.
† *The Academy, loc. cit.*

a curved piece of discoloured ivory, as Sir E. Tennent rightly observes, about two inches in length and more than one in diameter, which unexampled dimensions are by Buddhists accounted for by a strange argument, that in the days of Buddha human beings were giants, and their teeth kept pace, so to speak, with their larger stature.*

Dr. Davy, who, it appears, was one of the first Christians to see the modern *dalada*, in 1817 describes it thus:—"It was of a dirty yellow colour, excepting towards its truncated base, where it was brownish. Judging from its appearance at the distance of two or three feet (for none but the chief priests were privileged to touch it), it was artificial, and of ivory, discoloured by age." † Major Forbes saw it again on the 28th May 1828, during the great Kandyan festival, in company with Sir Robert and Lady Horton and party, amongst whom was Baron von Hugel. He writes:—"It is a piece of discoloured ivory, slightly curved, nearly two inches in length, and one in diameter at the base; from thence to the other extremity, which is rounded and blunt, it considerably decreases in size." ‡ Elsewhere he continues:—"Not the least curious fact connected with this antique is, that the original promoter of the imposition (which passed it as a tooth of Gautama) did not procure some old man's tooth, and thus deprive sceptics of at least one strong argument against its authenticity." §

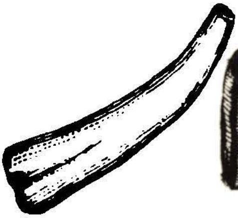
* As regards the stains now observed in the relic, we are told that the Buddhists claim them as a proof of identity, from the fact of their having been made the subject of remark centuries ago by the king Pâṇdu, as recorded in the *Dhatuvaṅsa*. But its yellowish-brown colour, if it then existed, could not possibly have inspired the following allusion in the same epic:—"The tooth-relic, of a colour like a part of the moon, white as the *kunda* flower (a species of jasmine) and new sandalwood, caused with its radiance palace-gates, mountains, trees, and the like to appear for a moment as if of polished silver."—Canto v., ver. 63. Only the faith of a Buddhist can explain away these discrepancies.

† Davy's *Account of Ceylon*, Lond. 1821, p. 368.

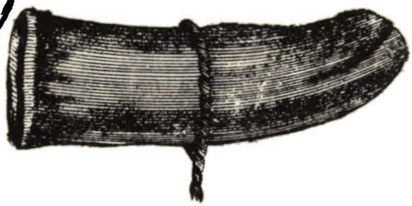
‡ Forbes's *Eleven Years in Ceylon*, Lond. 1820, vol. i., p. 293. The same author has published in the *Ceylon Almanack*, 1835, an article on this subject entitled "The Dangistra Dalada, or Right Canine Tooth of Gautama Buddha," but this is erroneous. All other authorities concur in calling it the left canine, which is moreover qualified as belonging to the upper set by naming it the left eye-tooth. In reference to other canine teeth Col. Yule writes:—"Of the four eye-teeth of Śâkya, one, it is related, passed to the heaven of Indra, the second to the capital of Gandhâra, the third to Kaliṅga, the fourth to the snake-gods. The Gandhâra tooth was perhaps, like the alms-bowl, carried off by a Sassanide invasion, and may be identical with that tooth of Fo which the Chinese annals state to have been brought to China in A.D. 530 by a Persian embassy. A tooth of Buddha is now shown in the monastery of Fuchau, but whether this be either the Sassanian present, or that got from Ceylon by Kublai, is unknown. Other teeth of Buddha were shown in Hwen Thsang's time at Balkh and at Kanauj."—Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. ii., p. 266.

§ Forbes's *Eleven Years in Ceylon*, vol. ii., p. 220.

Both Dr. Davy and Major Forbes have given a drawing of it; that of the latter, slightly reduced in size, appears to have been reproduced by Sir E. Tennent in his charming *History of Ceylon*, and by Col. Yule in his excellent edition of *Marco Polo's Travels*. The following diagrams, copied from the above-mentioned works, along with a faithful representation of the permanent human upper canine tooth, show at once the palpable difference there is between the tooth of a man and the counterfeit one now exhibited in Kandy.



After Dr. Davy.



After Major Forbes.

Human canine tooth.

The human canine teeth, or cuspids as anatomists call them, are about three-quarters to one inch in length, and consist of three parts, viz. the crown, the neck, and the fang or root. The crown is thick, conical, convex in front and hollowed behind. The point or cusp is generally blunted or becomes worn down by use. The neck is contracted, and as such only slightly marking the separation between the crown and the root. The fang is single, conical in form, compressed laterally, and lined by a slight groove on each side. It is evident that both in size and form the human tooth bears a striking contrast to the one at Kandy.

Now a few words about the temple and sanctuary where the tooth-relic is deposited. If the Buddhists persist in saying that it is the tooth of Buddha, as they always will, then they have every reason to be proud of their Maligâva temple, where it rests after having had its wanderings and returns, captivities and exiles, degradation and triumphs, during two thousand years of travel. No relic, as Bishop Heber truly remarks, "was ever more sumptuously enshrined or more devoutly worshipped."*

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* *Narrative of a Journey*, &c. vol. ii., p. 254. The venerable Bishop also mentions that although he did not see the tooth, he was shown a facsimile, which is more like a wild beast's tusk than a human tooth.

Dr. Davy, who was in Kandy in 1817, describes the temple where the tooth-relic is now preserved, thus:—"The dalada Malagawa was the domestic temple of the king, and is the most venerated of any in the country, as it contains the relic, the tooth of Buddha, to which the whole island was dedicated, and which is considered by good Buddhists as the most precious thing in the world. The temple is small, of two stories, built in the Chinese style of architecture. The sanctum is an inner room, about twelve feet square, on the upper story, without windows, and to which a ray of natural light never penetrates. You enter it by folding doors, with polished brass panels, before and behind which is a curtain. The splendour of the place is very striking; the roof and walls are lined with gold brocade; and nothing scarcely is to be seen but gold, gems, and sweet-smelling flowers. On a platform or stage about three feet and a half high, and which occupies about half the room, there is a profusion of flowers tastefully arranged before the objects of worship to which they are offered, viz. two or three small figures of Buddha,—one of crystal, and the other of silver gilt,—and four or five domes or caskets, called karanduas, containing relics, and similar in form to the common Dagobah. * * * All but one of the karanduas are small, not exceeding a foot in height, and wrapped in many folds of muslin. One is of much greater size, and uncovered, and with its decorations makes a most brilliant appearance. It is five feet four and a half inches high, and nine feet ten inches in circumference at its base. It is of silver, from three-tenths to four-tenths of an inch thick, and gilt externally. It consists of three different pieces, capable of being separated from each other. Its workmanship is neat but plain, and it is studded with very few gems, the finest of which is a valuable cat's-eye on the top, which is rarely seen. The ornaments attached to it are extremely rich, and consist of gold chains, and a great variety of gems suspended from it. The most remarkable of these is a bird hanging by a gold chain, and formed entirely of diamonds, rubies, blue sapphires, emeralds, and cat's-eyes, set in gold, which is hid by the profusion of stones. Viewed at a little distance, by candle-light, the gems about the karandua seem to be of immense value, but when closely inspected they prove in general to be of bad quality, and some of the largest merely crystal coloured by a foil. This great karandua is the receptacle of the dalada, 'the tooth,' as it is considered, of Buddha. * * * Never was relic more preciously enshrined; wrapped in pure sheet-gold, it was placed in a case just large enough to receive

it, of gold, covered externally with emeralds, diamonds, and rubies, tastefully arranged. This beautiful and very valuable bijou was put into a very small gold karandua, richly ornamented with rubies, diamonds, and emeralds: this was enclosed in a larger one also of gold, and very prettily decorated with rubies: this second, surrounded with tinsel, was placed in a third, which was wrapped in muslin; and this in a fourth, which was similarly wrapped: both these were of gold, beautifully wrought, and richly studded with jewels. Lastly, the fourth karandua, about a foot and a half high, was deposited in the great karandua."*

But to return to the history of the *dalada*. In 1815 A.D. the relic came, along with the island of Ceylon, into the possession of the British Crown. The first Adhikar (Minister of State and Justice) remarked on this event that whatever the English might think of the consequences of having taken Kappitapola (a rebel chief of Ceylon), in his opinion and in the opinion of the people in general the taking of the relic was of infinitely more moment "† And Dr. Davy remarks: "The effect of its capture was astonishing, and almost beyond the comprehension of the enlightened."‡ For the powers of the tooth as a national palladium, somewhat similar to those which in the thirteenth century obtained among the Scotch concerning the stone at Scone, and which are even nowadays current in Goa concerning the body of the greatest missionary Portugal ever sent to the East, § and the exemption of Ceylon from foreign domination as long as it possessed the relic and the sacred tree at Anurâdhapura, are oracularly propounded in the *Râjaratnâkari*, and as fully believed by the Sinhalese Buddhists.

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* Davy's *Account of Ceylon*, pp. 366-69.

† Forbes, vol. ii., p. 221.

‡ Davy, p. 369.

§ The tradition about the body of St. Francis Xavier being the palladium of the liberties and independence of the Goanese, and in the hands of whose silver image, placed on the north-facing altar of his mausoleum, an official *batôn* is deposited, and reverentially taken possession of by each new Governor on taking charge over of the state, as one of the insignia inseparable from government, draws support from several puerile legends. One of these is to the effect that when in 1801 a British auxiliary force, without any hostile intention, was posted at Agoada and Cabo during the political commotions in Europe caused by the great Napoleon, and remained there until the general peace in 1815, a man in the habit of a friar was seen almost every night in the encampment striking with his knotted cord the men and officers of the force. Resistance was impossible, for their tormentor, although visible, was strangely impalpable; and the force, unable to bear any longer the tortures of this implacable friar, were obliged suddenly to beat a retreat. The ghost in the habit of a friar is said to have been St. Francis Xavier, who, fearing foreign invasion, thus compelled the British to decamp.

During the rebellion against the English in 1818, in which again the relic played an important part, it was clandestinely removed by certain priests appointed to officiate at its sanctuary, but towards the conclusion of the rebellion it was again restored, having been found with a priest who was seized in the Matale district, by the care of the British Government, who then empowered its Resident at Kandy to act as the custodian of the relic, and a soldier to keep guard every night at the door of the temple.* It was at last entirely surrendered to the British, together with the Kandyan kingdom, in 1825. The next occasion on which the *dalada* attracted attention was at its public exhibition in Kandy on the 27th of May 1828, the first time after fifty-three years since the king Kṛiti Śrî had openly displayed it, on which occasion a considerable sum of money was collected from the assembled multitude of devotees, who flocked thither from all parts of the country to worship the relic. Of this splendid festival and procession we have numerous records. On that day all three larger cases having previously been removed, the relic contained in the three inner caskets was placed on the back of a richly caparisoned elephant, over it a small octagonal cupola or canopy supported by silver pillars, and all this grand apparatus carried round in solemn and gorgeous procession.

In 1834 a secret plan was concerted by some disaffected Siṅhalese to remove again the *dalada*, and renew the scenes the Kandyan country had once witnessed so grievously in 1818; but these proceedings were carefully watched by the Government, the delinquents arrested, and thus the scheme was frustrated. For a long time afterwards the relic was in the official custody of the Ceylonese Government, and Turnour was the first European, it appears, who, for more than nine years, had the keys of the sanctuary constantly in his library, save during the performance of the daily offerings. It is only within a few years, *circa* 1839, that, owing to the remonstrances of the Christian societies in England, the connection of the existing Government with the shrine has ceased.

In 1858 two Burmese bonzes from Rangoon were sent to Ceylon by the king of Burma on a mission almost similar to that of his remote predecessor the king Anavantha, who in the eleventh century had sent an embassy to endeavour to procure the relic, but could obtain only "the miraculous emanation" of it, to contain which a tower in the palace-court of Amarapura was built. This time the priests went there

* *Revue des deux Mondes*, 1854, p. 143.

to get a facsimile of the tooth, which they obtained, on the 9th October of that year, and the whole transaction is but a repetition *mutatis mutandis* under the British of what, about three hundred years ago, took place under the Portuguese. The latter, swayed by the Inquisitional influence and perhaps scruples of conscience, not only refused to give up but burnt the relic; the former, more tolerant, if not more enlightened, allowed the model to be taken, which has since been deposited within the walls of the palace at Mandalay, the new capital of Burma.*

The present condition of the sanctuary and its precious contents require a few words of description. We are told that "nothing can be more picturesque than the situation and aspect of Kandy, on the banks of the miniature lake overhung on all sides by hills which command charming views of the city with its temples and monuments below." But the sanctuary of the great relic, notwithstanding the beauty of the scenery around, and its richness in gems and precious metals, is a small chamber without a ray of light, in which the air is stifling hot and heavy with the perfume of flowers, situated in the inmost recess of the *vihâra* attached to the palace of the Kandyan kings. The frames of the doors are inlaid with carved ivory, and on a massive silver table hung round with rich brocades stands the bell-shaped *karandua*, the shrine or dâgobâ, consisting of six cases, the largest or external cover, five feet in height, formed of gilt silver inlaid with rubies and other gems, and ornamented with jewelled chains; other caskets, similarly wrought, but diminishing in size gradually; until on removing the innermost one, about one foot in height, a golden lotus is disclosed, in which reposes the mystic tooth. In front of the silver altar a plain table is placed for people to deposit their gifts upon. These *karanduas* are said to have been made for the relic by successive sovereigns between 1267 and 1464 A.D.

The last event in the history of the *dalada* is the solemn visit paid but a few months ago by the Burmese envoys to the Maligâva temple at Kandy on their return from Europe, in fulfilment of the special commands of their king. The pomp and circumstance of that splendid pilgrimage evoked a fresh enthusiasm in the Siñhalese for their revered tooth-relic, and numerous were the tokens of obeisance and devotion offered to the shrine.

* *Madras Examiner*, 26th August 1858. Conf. also Col. Yule's *Marco Polo's Travels*, vol. ii., p. 265, and *Revue des deux Mondes*, 1860, p. 129, where a graphic description of the ceremony is given, and the relic is described thus:—"C'est un fragment d'ivoire de la dimension du petit doigt, jaune fauve, un peu courbé vers le milieu, et plus gros à une extrémité qu'à l'autre."

What stirring times has not the *dalada* gone through during the twenty-five centuries which have elapsed since it was first picked up from the Kuśinagara funeral pile of the great sage, while monarchs were fighting for its possession, until its present comfortable lodging in the richest shrine raised by man to a mistaken devotion; and what a part has it not played in the religious history of India, from the epoch in which Buddhism became the dominant faith of the country, subsequently persecuted and tyrannized over by a powerful enemy, ruined by the degeneracy of its own adherents, and enfeebled by schism and heresy, until at last all disasters culminated in its being banished from its birthplace to find a refuge in distant foreign lands! Then, its place usurped by the stern dominion of El Islâm, spreading its faith throughout the fair plains of Hindustân by the merciless edge of the sword, to be followed by a still sterner race, "that nation of heroes," as the Abbé Raynal called the Portuguese, coming from the far West to supplant "the nation of philosophers," as Professor Max Müller designates the Hindus; and who by the discordant use of the torch, the symbol of barbarism, on the one hand, which marked its passage by the lurid flames of burning cities, and of the cross, the emblem of peace, on the other, which by the persuasive voice of the missionary they succeeded in planting all along the coast of our peninsula, named, as if to add insult to injury, the very sacred tree of Buddha *Arbor diaboli* or Devil's-tree.* In bringing this incomplete Memoir to a close, I cannot more fittingly conclude than in the words of the learned Rodier, who says:—"Les règlements orgueilleusement immuables, pour le corps et pour l'âme, que les théocrates de l'Inde ont eu la émérité d'imposer à la société, ont fini par y détruire tous les éléments du progrès. Le génie indou, autrefois si brillant, si fécond, si vivace, meurt étouffé dans une camisole de force.

"Le dur contact de notre civilisation le réveillera peut-être. Espérons que les déscendants des Arias trouveront, tôt ou tard, une compensation aux douleurs et aux humiliations que leur inflige la prépondérance des Européens; qu'ils nous emprunteront la foi en la puissance et en la légitimité des efforts individuels, et qu'ils apprendront de nous à se mouvoir en dehors des limites conventionelles de leur vieille organisation. Puissent les pères des nations modernes reprendre un jour une place honorable dans l'édifice dont ils ont, avec tant de patience, établi les fondements!"†.

* Rheede's *Hortus Malabaricus*, vol. ii., pp. 46-7, fig. 27.
† G. Rodier's *Antiquité des Races Humaines*, pp. 372-373.

Art. IV.—*The Subjugation of Persia by the Moslems, and the Extinction of the Sásánian Dynasty.* By E. Rehatsek, M.C.E., Hon. Mem. Bom. Br. R. A. S.

Read 9th January 1875.

Considering that the Arabs had never before the time of Muḥammad been fully united, had never been able permanently to retain any foreign territory, and had barely succeeded in establishing union and peace at home when they began repeatedly, and not in very considerable numbers, to invade the frontiers of the Persian E'rák, it is scarcely probable that they seriously entertained so vast a scheme as the overthrow of the Sásánian dynasty, and the conquest of the whole Persian empire, in the beginning of the war. But, fired with religious zeal, and flushed with success, the Moslems soon perceived that if they persevered in their hostilities they would be rewarded with boundless wealth, an immense addition to their territories, and with the beautiful opportunity, dear to every true believer of those times, of being able to present Islam for acceptance at the point of the sword to the subjugated people. The conquest of the Persian empire, which had not been contemplated by the Arabs suddenly, could neither be accomplished suddenly; the war commenced during the reign of Ardeshir III., and continued during the whole time of Yazdegird, so that it lasted longer than a quarter of a century, and with him the Sásánian dynasty became extinct, although even with his death the struggle was not entirely terminated, as long after it uprisings against the Arabs took place, the suppression of which, however, presented no very great difficulties to the power which had now become paramount. The reliable historical sources from which an account of this conquest can be given are not only scanty, but come all from one side, as there exist none on the other; so that a confrontation of both is an impossibility, and those used in the compilation of this paper in which the subject is treated with considerable detail are Zotenberg's Tabari, the Rauẓat-al-çafa, and the quotations made from Ibn Khaldún occuring in Caussin de Perceval's "Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes."

Chapter I.—Commencement of the War.

Abu Bekr, the immediate successor of the prophet, was the first Khalif who began to contemplate the extension of Islam beyond the limits of Arabia proper. The little kingdom of Ḥirah, tributary to Persia, although it contained an entirely Arab population, he determined to subjugate, apparently without entertaining any scheme of further or larger conquests, merely because he had been informed that the empire of Persia, having after Shiruyeh* fallen into the hands of women and children, was much enfeebled also by internal dissensions, and that no great resistance might be apprehended from that quarter. The Kings of Persia had conferred the government of Ḥirah and of Kufah† on Iyás, and all the Arab possessions of the Persians were under his

* For the purpose of better fixing in the memory of the reader the events about to be narrated, it will be proper in this place to insert a chronological table of the sovereigns of Persia from Mr. K. R. Cama's "Jamshedi Naoroz," containing Dr. Mordtmann's "Chronology of the Sásánians," and to add also the corresponding Hegira years. This list of dates is well determined, although some writers differ in a few details, and Mr. E. Thomas entirely omits Kesra I., Chahinendah, and Ferakhzád; he also places Arzemidukht after Kesra II., *i.e.* Khosru, and calls the last Yazdegird the 3rd, and not the 4th; he does not, however, stand alone in his opinion, as the confusion of reigns was very considerable during that period; also the Shahnámah omits Kesra II., and even Hormuzd V., and has after Purándukht only Arzemidukht, who reigned 4 months, Farrakhzád 1 month, and Yazdegird 20 years; whereas the list of E. Thomas, F.R.S., &c., terminates as follows:—

Accession of No. 26 Purandukht (dr. of Khosru Parviz) A.D. 630; of Nos. 27, 28, and 29, *i.e.* Khosru, Azarmidukht (dr. of Khosru), and Hormuzd, all A.D. 631–2; lastly No. 30, Yazdegird III., son of Shahryár, whose reign lasted from the 16th June 632 to 650; whereas according to Dr. Mordtmann's list, the latter portion of which is here inserted from the "Jamshedi Naoroz," the total number of reigns amounts to 38, counting that of Kobad for two, as he reigned twice.

No.		Accession to the throne according to				A. H.
		Mordtmann.	Richter.	Sedillot.	Patakanian.	
28	Kobad II. (Shiruyeh)...	25 Feb. 628	628	629	628	7– 8
29	Ardeshir III.	Nov. 628	628	629	628	7– 8
30	Sarbaraz (Shahryár) ...	629	629	629	629	8– 9
31	Kesra I.	630	......	......	......	9–10
32	Purandukht, daughter of Khosru Parviz	630	630	629	630	9–10
33	Chahinendah.............	Jan. Feb. 631	......	......	......	10
34	Arzemidukht, also dr. of Khosru Parviz	Mar. Apr. 631	631	632	631	10
35	Kesra II.	May, June 631	631	632	631	10–11
36	Ferakhzád....................................	July, Aug. 631	632	632	......	10–11
37	Hormuzd V.	Sept. 631	......	......	631	10–11
38	Yazdegird IV., son of Shahryár........... (Killed 651 in the interval between 21st March and 23rd August.)	10 June 632	632 to 650	632 to 652	632 to 651	11 Rabí' I. to 31–32

† The two towns were only three miles distant from each other.

authority. A man named Mosanna Ben Háresah Al Shaybani, unwilling to obey Iyás, went from Kufah to Medinah, embraced Islam, and presenting himself to the Khalif said, "Give me the government of the territory of Kufah and Sawád, that I may be the master of all the parts of the provinces which I shall conquer; because the Persian empire is weak." Abu Bekr granted him these countries, and promised to aid him with troops. Mosanna then returned but did nothing except alternately sojourning at Kufah and in the Sawád. When Abu Bekr saw that he could undertake nothing, he recalled Khâled Ben Walid by a letter from Yemáma and said :—"March to Hirah and Kufah, unite thy forces with those of Mosanna, then proceed in the direction of Madayn,* taking the advice of Mosanna, and march to Obolla. The town of Obolla is situated between Boçrah and Kufah; it is called *Farj-al-Hind* (the limit of India), because there O'mán is entered from India." Abu Bekr wrote also a letter to Mosanna and ordered him to obey Khâled.†

In the month Muharram A.H. 12 (March—April 633) Khâled Ben Walid departed from Yemáma at the head of 10,000 men, consisting of various tribes, and was soon joined by Mosanna, who brought 8,000 men, so that the whole army now consisted of 18,000. Mosanna had already made predatory incursions before into the Persian dominions, and had several times penetrated into the district of Kaskar, where he plundered villages. When Khâled arrived near Hirah, Iyás the king of it came out to meet him, and Khâled said, "O Iyás, select one of these three proposals :—Accept our religion, or pay tribute, or be prepared for war; because the men who are with me love war and death as thou lovest pleasure and life." Iyás replied, "We do neither wish to resist thee nor to abandon our ancient religion; but we consent to pay tribute." Subsequently the inhabitants of Hirah made a collection of 90,000 dirhems, which they paid to Khâled.

Hormuz, the Persian governor of the lower or coast portion of E'rák, being informed of the approach of the Musalmáns, sent word to that

* (Cornelii Taciti Annales VI. 42. In a footnote :—) Seleucenses et Seleuci ad Tigrim, Mesopotamiæ urbs, nunc *Al-Modain*.—(Lemprière's Classical Dictionary :—) CTESIPHON. A large village of Assyria, now Elmodain, on the banks of the Tigris, &c.—The dual Madayn designated both the cities Seleucia and Ctesiphon on the banks of the Euphrates, but was afterwards the capital of the later Sásánians.

† Tabari, III., p. 324.

effect to his sovereign, Ardeshir Kesra, son of Shiruyeh.* True to the abovementioned order of Abu Bekr, Khâled proceeded to Obolla, which was commanded by a Persian named Hormuz, who had 20,000 men under his orders. At this time Shiruyeh the son of Parviz being dead, the crown was placed on the head of Ardeshir, an infant on the breast, and the government was carried on by some magnates of Persia, while Hormuz, who was extremely brave, watched over the security of the empire on the side of the desert against the Arabs, and on the side of the sea against the people of India. Khâled addressed the following letter to Hormuz:—"I, the general of the vicar of God, have arrived. Embrace Islám, or pay tribute, or be prepared for war." After having perused these lines, Hormuz sent them to Ardeshir, the king of Persia; then he put his army in motion and entered the desert, desirous to encounter Khâled, whom he actually met.

In the morning the two armies left their camps and put themselves in battle array. The first who came forward was Hormuz, who shouted at the Musalmáns, "Where is Khâled? Tell him to come to measure his strength with me." Hormuz was of a powerful stature, and Khâled an insignificant-looking fellow. Hormuz alighted from his steed, and a single combat ensued. Having parried a blow aimed by Hormuz, Khâled threw away his own scimitar, saying, "What is the use of swords?" and approaching Hormuz, lifted him up from the ground, sat down on his breast and drew a poniard to cut his throat. At this sight the Persian army came on running and surrounded Khâled to disengage Hormuz, whilst on the other hand Ḳa'ḳa' and the Musalmán soldiers threw themselves amidst the Persians and separated them from Khâled, who cut off the head of Hormuz, throwing it among the Persians, who thereupon took to flight. Khâled mounted a horse and sent a body of troops in pursuit of them. Many of them were slain or made prisoners, but at the fall of night the Musalmáns re-entered their camp.†

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* From the chronological list given before, it appears that the sovereign here mentioned, Ardeshir III., who ascended the throne at the end of 628 or the beginning of 629, *i.e.* not later than A.H. 8, and was not even one year on it, could not have been appealed to by the Persian governor Hormuz A.H. 12, when the first invasion of Persia by Khâled took place. Both these contradictory dates are apparently taken from Ibn Khaldún by Caussin de Perceval. Tabari has them not, and is in general very sparing of dates, but it will afterwards be seen that he also assigns later dates to several events.

† Tabari, III., p. 324.

The reason why the Musalmáns returned to their camp does not appear, nor why Obolla, into which Khâled marched the next morning, had remained undefended by the Persians; but what is more strange still is that some writers relate that Khâled did not take Obolla, but that it succumbed only during the Khalifate of O'mar, A.H. 14 (635-36); that statement appears, however, not to be true. In Tabari's recital of the booty taken by Khâled when he entered Obolla, the chains brought by the Persian troops to fetter the Muhammadan prisoners are mentioned, as well as the fact that in all the narratives of the battles and victories in E'rák the fight at Obolla is called "the day of chains" for this reason; whereas Caussin de Perceval states, according to Ibn Khaldún, that the name is taken from the circumstance that the Persian soldiers had chained themselves to each other, with the intention rather to perish than to flee. All agree, however, that the mitre of Hormuz found among the plunder, the like of which had never before been seen by the Arabs, was estimated at the value of 100,000 dirhems; it was of red colour and set with precious stones. Among the Persians the various degrees of nobility were indicated by the head-dress, which was more or less rich according to dignity. The highest magnates alone had a right to wear a costly diadem like that of Hormuz. Khâled made a distribution of the spoils, one-fifth of which, together with the costly mitre and an elephant which had been taken, was sent to Medinah. Abu Bekr had the elephant promenaded about in the whole town, so that the people might see him; then he sent him back to Khâled, whom he also presented with the mitre of Hormuz.

CHAPTER II.—CONQUEST OF PERSIAN E'RA'K.

After this victory Khâled marched deeper into the country, but was soon met by Káren Ben Ferianus,* who commanded for the king of Persia in Ahváz, but was sent by him to support the army of Hormuz, the remnants of which he joined to his own 50,000 men, and encamped at a place called Mazár. To this place Khâled also marched, and when he came in sight Káren drew up his army, giving the command of the right wing to Anusheján, and the left to Kobád, both of whom had been officers of Hormuz, were distinguished men, and relatives of the infant king Ardeshir. Káren himself came out from the ranks and challenged

* Ferianus not being an Arabic or Persian name, the bearer of it was probably a Roman; and even the name of his son Karen is very likely a corruption of some Roman or Greek word.

Khâled to single combat, whereto the latter agreed, taking Ḳáren for his own antagonist, and assigning A'di B. Ḥáṭim Ṭai and A'ásem B. Khattáb to Anushejān and Ḳobád. Both the latter were slain, but nothing is said of Ḳáren. The Persian army was put to flight, and on counting the dead on the next day 30,000 Persians were found to have fallen; and the Musalmáns obtained considerable booty (April–May 633, A.H. 12, in the month Çafar).

A few days after this battle Khâled heard that after the defeat at Maẓár the king of Persia had despatched 50,000 men under the command of Anderzáz, who had encamped at Walajah. On receipt of this information Khâled reviewed his army, and picking out 20,000 men left the rest in the place where they were. On arriving in the presence of the enemy he detached a body of 4,000 men, whom he placed in ambush on the two sides of the enemy's camp, with orders to rush upon him as soon as they perceived that the battle had commenced. This was done and the Persians fled, but the slaughter of them was more terrible still than at Maẓár.

From Walajah Khâled marched to Ollays,* where a battle took place; but before describing it some account of the Arabs who fought on the Persian side is to be given. In the army of Ḳáren there were many Christians who had come with him from Ahváz. They were Arabs of the Beni Beḳr and of the Beni I'jl. They had taken part in the fight at Maẓár and many of them had been slain. Then all the Arabs of the Beni Beḳr and the Beni I'jl from Ahváz, Ḥirah, and from Moçul made common cause and addressed a letter to the king of Persia in which they said, "We bind ourselves to aid thee; send another army and we shall join it." In the army of Khâled there were, however, also many of the Beni Beḳr and of the Beni I'jl who had become Musalmáns.

The king of Persia, having learnt that the Arabs of Moçul, of Jezirah, and of Ahváz wished to aid him, was very glad. He had sent after Anderzáz another body of troops of 40,000 men under the command of Bahman Jáduyeh, and the former, having engaged in battle before the arrival of the latter, was beaten. When Bahman saw the fugitives he halted in his march and wrote a letter to the king of Persia to ask for instructions. The king deliberated. When he received the letters

* Lis according to Tabari, but the place is evidently the same which Ibn Khaldún means.

of the Arab Christians of the tribes Beni Beḳr and I'jl who proposed to aid him and demanded an army, he wrote to Bahman to march forward to join the Arabs of the Beni Beḳr and the Beni I'jl and to attack Kháled. Bahman Jáduyeh gave the command of the army to an officer named Jábán, who was a Dehḳán or large proprietor in the Sawád district. He ordered Jábán to join the Beni Beḳr and the Beni I'jl, and enjoined him not to begin the struggle before he had himself returned. Jábán marched, and established his camp at Lis (Ollays), a village which was under his personal jurisdiction.

Kháled had been informed of these circumstances. When the Christians of the Beni Beḳr and the Beni I'jl became aware that a Persian army had been put in motion without a commander-in-chief, not one of them left his country to join Jábán. At this news Kháled considered that it would be proper to fall on the Persian troops before the arrival of Bahman, and before their junction with the Arabs; therefore he immediately departed with 20,000 men.

Jábán kept himself on his guard within his camp, expecting the return of Bahman. One day his soldiers were just eating their dinner when the vanguard of Kháled came in sight; they said, "The Arabs will pitch their camp to-day and will attack us only to-morrow," and continued to eat. When Kháled arrived, the soldiers of the vanguard said that the Persians were engaged in dining. Kháled asked whether on seeing them arrive the enemies had got up to attack them. The soldiers gave a negative reply. Kháled said, "Do not alight, but attack them at once," and swore that if God granted him victory, he would slay as many of the enemies as would dye the river with their blood, because they had despised the Musalmáns.

The Musalmán army, having been drawn up in battle array, began the attack. The Persians rose, saying to Jábán, "We shall not lose thy repast," and, beginning to fight, fought a battle which was the hottest that ever took place between Kháled and the Persians. After a very obstinate struggle the Persians took flight in the interval between the morning and the afternoon prayers. Kháled had it proclaimed that none of the prisoners should be killed, and the next morning he had them led to the bank of the river, near which their heads were cut off, so that the blood flowed into it, and his oath was fulfilled.* It appears that Tabari in all his descriptions of battles

* Tabari, vol. III., p. 330.

invariably attributes the victory to the Musalmáns, and never even hints that it was dubious. Caussin de Perceval, however, who here followed both Tabari and Ibn Khaldún, states that although Bahman, who had gone to Madayn in order to consult Ardeshir who was sick, could not be present at the battle, Jábán had been so bravely seconded by Abjár and A'bd-al-aswád, the Christian Bekrite chiefs, that the victory was for a long time dubious. The butchery on the river Euphrates, or rather a canal of it, lasted one day and one night; the water of it became red from the blood of so many victims, and obtained after that time the name "Nahr-al-dam," *i.e.* river of blood.

Not far from Ollays there was Amghishiyah, a city almost rivalling Hirah in importance, and situated on the lower extremity of the branch of the Euphrates called "Furát Bádakla," "the Euphrates of Bádakla," which begins in the vicinity of Hirah. Khâled appeared all of a sudden before Amghishiyah, the inhabitants whereof fled without having time to carry off their valuables. The Musalmáns plundered the houses and demolished them utterly. Already enriched by their former successes, they collected on this occasion such a quantity of booty that the share of each trooper amounted to 1,500 silver dirhems.

After Khâled had embarked his infantry and baggage in boats, he marched with his cavalry to Hirah, following the banks of the Furát Bádakla, which his flotilla was ascending. At the news of his approach El-Azáduba, the Marzebán or satrap of Hirah, established near the two mausoleums called "Gharyáni" a camp to protect the town, and despatched his son with a body of troops to guard the head of the Furát Bádakla, which body closed, according to the instructions of the satrap, the upper extremity of the Furát Bádakla by a dam, in such a manner as to turn the mass of water into the other arm of the river, and opened the sluices of all the canals of irrigation issuing from the arm of the Bádakla. By this means the waters of this latter arm were speedily withdrawn, so that the boats of the Musalmáns stuck all of a sudden fast, high and dry. Khâled, however, undaunted by this stratagem, left his flotilla, and, hastening forward with his cavalry, met at the spot called "Famm-al-a'tyk" or "old mouth," the first post of troops, the others being stationed farther up at the "Famm-Furát-Bádakla," or "mouth of the Furát Bádakla." This first post Khâled attacked suddenly, and cut it up, together with its young chief, the son of the Marzebán; then he pierced the dam, and

after closing the outlets to the canals the water took its ordinary course, and the Musalmán boats, thus again set afloat, soon arrived with the infantry and the baggage. As soon as the infantry had set foot on shore, the Musalmáns presented themselves before the Khawarnaḳ castle, and took possession of it almost without striking a blow. Then they marched to Ḥirah, which was situated at a distance of three miles, and where El-Azáduba dared not wait for them, as he fled in the direction of Persia on being simultaneously apprised of the death of his own son and that of Ardeshir. Khaled encamped with his army on the very spot occupied by the Marzebán during the preceding night, and began, after ineffectually summoning the inhabitants of the city to capitulate, immediately to besiege Ḥirah.

The castles, which constituted the only force of Ḥirah, resisted the attack for some time, but Khaled having taken possession of the Christian convents in the vicinity, the monks expelled from them induced the defenders of these castles to capitulate, which happened as follows:— The soldiers of Khaled had orders to invite the inhabitants of Ḥirah to embrace Islam, and to grant them for that purpose a respite of one day, but to attack them in case of refusal the next day, and not to treat with them if they proposed to pay tribute. Eight thousand men posted themselves near the walls of the town, and summoned the people to accept the Musalmán religion. After they had refused, the Musalmáns provoked them to fight, and rejected the proposal of those inhabitants of Ḥirah who wished to pay tribute. The people on their part sent men upon the walls, who threw stones from slings at the Musalmáns, but the latter succeeded in taking possession of a gate and in slaying many persons. Then the monks came out from Ḥirah with their heads wrapped in their cowls, and presented themselves before the Musalmán army weeping, and asking for quarter. The Musalmáns had been prohibited from killing Christian monks. When they arrived in the presence of Mosanna Ben Ḥáresah, whom Khaled had entrusted with the command of the troops, these monks said, "Grant us three days of respite that we may betake ourselves to Khaled and explain our position." Mosanna consented, and hostilities were suspended. Four chiefs of the town, one of whom was A'bd-al-Masiḥ, went to Khaled and, implored his clemency on condition of paying tribute.

A'bd-al-Masiḥ carried in his hand a folded leaf.* Khaled asked:— "What is this?" A'bd-al-Masiḥ replied:—"This is a mortal poison,

* A small bag suspended from his girdle, according to Ibn Khaldún.—C. de P.

which, in case thou hadst refused to grant us peace, I intended to swallow, in order not to return to my countrymen." Khâled took this poison away from him, spread it on his own hand and pronounced the words "In the name of God, by whose power nothing from heaven nor from the earth can hurt," and swallowed it. He felt uneasy for a moment and perspiration flowed from his forehead; then he said, "There is neither power nor force except with God the Most High, the Great;" then turning towards A'bd-al-Masiḥ he said to him, "I took this poison to let thee know that nothing can hurt anyone except by the will of God." He also asked A'bd-al-Masiḥ, "Dost thou recollect how this land looked formerly?" A'bd-al-Masih replied, "I recollect that the country between Ḥirah, Damascus, and Syria, which is now a desert, was cultivated and planted with fruit-trees."*

After this conference the deputies returned to Ḥirah, and A'bd-al-Masiḥ said to the people, "This fellow is not a man but a devil,—he has swallowed a handful of poison which would kill an elephant, but it has not hurt him. No one can resist him; consent to all his demands." Khâled granted them peace on condition of paying an annual tribute of 190,000 (or, according to others, of 290,000) dirhems, and a capitation tax of four dirhems per head, which they had also before paid to the King of Persia, and which was called "Harazat Kesra." Several historians agree that the capitulation of Ḥirah was signed in the month Rabi' anterior A.H. 12 (May–June A.D. 633).† Then the chiefs brought rich presents to Khâled, who sent them to the Khalif Abu Bekr; the latter wrote back that he accepted them as an instalment of the tribute, and their value having been estimated it was deducted as such for the current year.

Following the precedent of Ḥirah, the Dehḳans, *i. e.* large proprietors and owners of villages in the surrounding country, treated with the Musalmâns, and bound themselves to pay for the estates to be cultivated a tax of one million dirhems besides the "Harazat Kesra" or capitation-tax of four dirhems for every individual on their property. When Khâled had thus subjugated Persian E'râḳ as he had been in-

* Tabari, III. 333.

† This is one year after the accession of Yazdegird, the last king, to the throne; whereas from what follows it appears that no king had been yet elected by the magnates who afterwards found Yazdegird and put him on the throne.

structed, he established Musalmán tax-gatherers in various places, and placed officers, such as Mosanna Ben Háresah, Zirár B. Al-Azwar the Asdite, Zirár B. Mukarrim the Mozanite, and Al-Ka'ka' in charge of the newly acquired frontiers beyond the Euphrates along the river Sib, with orders to defend its approaches and to pillage the country east of that line. They were not slow in zealously obeying his instructions, by making raids as far as the banks of the Tigris, devastating and plundering everything that came in their way.

During this time Bahman Jáduyeh had remained quiet with his army at Nahr-shír near Sábát, opposite to Madayn, where Al-Azaduba had joined him, whilst other Persian troops occupied Anbár, A'yn Tamr, and Firaz. All these troops remained immoveable, without daring to undertake anything, and without obtaining any directions from the capital. Since the death of Ardeshir III. great confusion and uncertainty prevailed at Madayn. The barbarous jealousy of Shiruyeh the son of Khosru Parwiz, who exterminated his brothers and his cousins the descendants of Nushirván, as well as the fury of the contending factions which had massacred the chief members of the families collateral to that of Nushirván issuing from Behrám Gúr, appeared to have extinguished the male posterity of the ancient kings. The magnates of Persia, divided by ambition, were unable to agree on the choice of a monarch. Khâled heard that the king was dead, that a woman had been placed on the throne, and that Azáduba, the general who had abandoned Hirah, was now at Madayn arousing the Persians to wage war. Consequently Khâled despatched two messengers, one of whom carried a letter for the sovereign, and the other for the people. The contents of both letters were these :—"God takes away the power from you, and causes the true religion to appear in your country. Believe now in God and in His prophet, or consent to pay tribute, or prepare for war, because I have men with me who love death better than life."

This threatening message imposed on the rival pretenders silence for a moment ; and the princesses of the blood of Kesra Nushirván caused the government of the state to be transferred to Farrukhzád son of Bendowán, until an individual could be found whom both the magnates and the people might acknowledge as king. But Farrukhzád, either from want of capacity or of authority, took no means suitable to arrest the progress of the Musalmáns. Within the space of two months Khâled had succeeded in collecting through his agents all the contribu-

tions the people had engaged themselves to pay, and the greater portion of his army, concentrated around Ḥirah, had recovered itself from its fatigue. Impatient to extend Musalmán dominion to the regions assigned to the operations of Iyáz B. Ghánum, and having received no news of this general, he believed that obstacles had impeded him, and intended to march to meet him in order to aid him in the fulfilment of his task. He recalled Al-Ḳa'ḳa' from the banks of the river Sib, and, having left this officer in command of Ḥirah, departed and progressed through the cultivated districts adjoining the Euphrates, and called Al-Felálij (sing. Fallújah) as far as Kerbella, where he took a few days' rest, in order to assure himself of the obedience of the surrounding population. Then, preceded by Al-Akrá Ben Ḥábis at the head of the vanguard, he continued his route towards the north-west, and arrived before Anbár, a town situated on the Euphrates, defended by a deep fosse and good fortifications, under the governor, *i.e.* Marzbán Shirzád, and defended by its Arab inhabitants, as well as Persian soldiers; there were also the Christian Arabs of Ḥirah, of Moçul and Jezirah, with the tribes Beni Beḳr and I'jl who had been put to flight by Kháled and had taken refuge in the fort of Anbár. When Kháled approached them he beheld men covered with iron from head to foot, of whose bodies no part was bare except the eyes. Accordingly he made his archers advance and said to them, "This day the action is yours: you must aim correctly, the sword can effect nothing against them." The archers then poured a shower of arrows against the Persians, aiming only at their eyes, and blinding one or two thousand of them. Shirzád proposed a capitulation to Kháled, and he consented on condition that the former should retire to Mesopotamia with his troops, carrying only the clothes they wore, and provisions for a march of three days. Shirzád departed and marched to Madayn, where he was blamed by Bahman for having capitulated, but he replied, "By a single discharge of arrows 2000 of my men have been blinded; and when the Arabs who served in my army saw this, they shouted that we ought to surrender ourselves."

This battle is called "Ẓát-al-O'yún," or "the day of eyes," which is briefly narrated by Tabari, and who says nothing about Anbár, to take which Kháled ordered all the camels of his army which were exhausted by fatigue to be killed on the next day, and their bodies thrown into the fosse, so that they served as a bridge for the Musalmáns to make an assault on the walls, in which they gained the advantage.

Khâled confided the keeping of Anbár to the Tamimite Zibriķán B. Bedr, and marched to A'yn Tamr, a town situated three stages northwest of Anbár on the confines of the desert. There a strong Persian garrison commanded by a general named Mehrán B. Behrám Chubin had shut itself up, and was supported by a large body of Arab Christians, whose chiefs were Akka and Hozayl. The former of these said to Mehrán, "Leave to us the care of repelling Khâled; we Arabs know better how to fight Arabs than you do." Mehrán willingly accepted this proposal, and Akka posted himself on the road where the Muhammadans were expected. He was however defeated and made prisoner by Khâled's own hand, whilst Hozayl escaped with a portion of the beaten troops; and Mehrán, being alarmed, evacuated the fort of A'yn Tamr, fleeing with his Persians in the direction of Madayn. A remnant of the troops of Akka, however, took up their position in the fort, and, putting themselves into a state of defence, valiantly resisted several assaults of Khâled, who soon besieged and compelled them to surrender unconditionally. He slew all these Arabs, as well as their chief Akka, whom he had already captured before; he also made prisoners of all the women and children he found in the town. He took away also the students belonging to the seminary of the church of A'yn Tamr. Now Khâled, who entertained no apprehensions of any great molestations on the part of the Persians in his recent conquests, hastened to aid his colleague Iyáz B. Ghánum, who had sent him a message asking for assistance from Daumat Jandal,* where he had in the beginning of the campaign experienced a check, and where he still was.

Zibriķán B. Bedr, who had been appointed governor of Anbár by Khâled, sent him the following letter:—"When thou hadst departed from the Sawád to Daumat-al-Jandal, the Persians thought that thou hadst returned [to Medinah], and the troops which were scattered have reassembled; they are commanded by two generals, named Zermihr and Ruzbeh, who have united under their banners all the fugitives, and have taken possession of three fortresses in the Sawád, namely, Ḥasid, Khanáfis, and Muzayya'ķ. I fear they will attack Anbár."

* The point struck on a line drawn from the head of the Persian Gulf to the lowest part of the Mediterranean, by a perpendicular dropped on it from Medinah, will mark the position of Daumat Jandal pretty nearly. This town is 5 days' distance from Damascus, and 15 or 16 from Medinah according to Wright (*Early Christianity in Arabia*, p. 177), and was inhabited by Christian Arabs who became afterwards Musalmáns.

When Khâled received this letter, he wrote to the governor of Ḥirah, Ka'ḳa' B. Amru, and called him to himself, whilst he sent Iyáz B. Ghánum to take his place at Ḥirah. Then he despatched Ka'ḳa' to Ḥasid, which was the most considerable of the three just-mentioned fortresses, whilst he himself marched to Anbár. Ḥasid was occupied by Ruzbeh, who had been sent there by Zermihr, whilst the latter had established his camp on the frontier of the Sawâd. On the approach of Ka'ḳa', Ruzbeh informed Zermihr and demanded reinforcements. Zermihr thereupon entrusted Mahbudán with the command of the principal army, and marched himself with a considerable body of troops to the assistance of Ruzbeh, and thus united the two generals attacked Ka'ḳa' B. A'mru; both, however, perished in the battle, and their troops were put to flight, but again assembled and halted at Khanâfis.

Mahbudán, apprised of the death of Ruzbeh and of Zermihr, left his camp and marched with his whole army to Muẓayya'ḳ. As soon as Khâled heard of this, he sent a letter to call Ka'ḳa', and then made arrangements to surprise the army of Muẓayya'ḳ. The garrison, thinking itself secure, had fallen asleep, and the gates of the fort were not shut. Khâled, who arrived at daybreak,† immediately threw himself into the town and massacred the enemies. When the sun had risen, there were so many corpses within and without the fortress that blood flowed like a river.

Without losing time, Khâled now passed through the localities named Haurán, Alrank, Al-Hanât (crossed the Euphrates), and ran to Zomayl, where the Taghlibite hordes of Rabia'ḥ B. Bojayr had encamped: these he crushed by a nocturnal surprise like the one he had just accomplished at Muẓayya'k. Thence he turned towards Roẓâb, where a gathering of the Beni Namir and the Beni Taghlib had taken place under Hilál B. A'ḳḳa, but which dispersed at the sight of the Musalmán banners. Khâled proceeded as far as Firáẓ, and a body of Persians which had occupied that position evacuated it immediately. This was a beautiful place on the banks of the Euphrates, where Khâled rested his army a whole month, and kept the Ramaẓán fast, A.H. 12. Hilál B. A'ḳḳa, who had escaped from the fort of Roẓáb to the territory of the Romans, spoke to them as follows:—"Khâled has conquered E'ráḳ and will now turn towards Rúm. Co-operate with me to reassemble the Persians and the Arabs. I shall attack him, and destroy him in this

* Midnight.—C. de P.

very place, on Roman soil." The Romans accepted these propositions, and the Emperor of Rúm sent from Constantinople an army of 100,000 men. Hilál despatched messengers towards the Sawád and E'rák to induce the Arabs who had escaped from various battles to fight under his banner. About 30,000 joined him. A letter to the same import was addressed to the Persian army, and its assistance sought.

Khāled was informed of these machinations, but kept himself quiet and waited for the end of the month Ramazán. Then, the Roman army having arrived, the enemies, to the number of 180,000 men, put themselves in motion against Khāled. They halted on the banks of the Euphrates and sent word to Khāled to cross the river himself, or they would cross it. Khāled replied, "You come to attack me, and you ought to cross it." Accordingly they passed over the river. The next morning Khāled drew up his army in battle array and waited. At the time of noon-prayers the enemies had not yet formed their lines. Khāled shouted, "How long shall we wait?" Then he rushed at them, and they were routed at the first shock. The Musalmáns made great carnage, and those who were not killed perished in the waves. In this battle 100,000 dead, Romans, Persians, and Arabs, were counted. Hilál B. A'kka escaped and was seen no more. The booty was immense. This battle was fought on the 12th Zulka'dah A.H. 12 (22nd January A.D. 634). Khāled remained yet ten days more at Firáz, and began on the 25th Zulka'dah (1st February A.D. 634) his retreat to Hirah, where he arrived in due time with his troops, although whilst these were on the march he had paid an incognito visit to Mecca, where he was present on the day of sacrifices in the valley of Mina on the 10th Zulhijjah (16th February 634).

Tabari was so simple-minded, and so ignorant of the vast extent of the Persian empire, as to believe that the conquest of it would be completed if the city of Madayn, which was merely on the outskirts of it, were taken.* Hitherto the Arabs had not penetrated further than the Persian E'rák, the bulk of whose population consisted not of Persians, but of Arabs tributary to them. Khāled remained for some time in Hirah with the intention of concentrating all his forces and then marching on Madayn, but was disappointed, inasmuch as he was in the beginning of A.H. 13 recalled by Abu Bekr and des-

* Tabari, III., p. 347. Not less than four years more elapsed, however, before Madayn was taken, A.H. 16 (*ibid.*, p. 414), and in four years more, A.H. 20, Nehâwend was taken (*ibid.*, p. 467).

patched to Syria against the Romans, leaving Mosanna B. Háresah to be the commander-in-chief of the Musalmán troops in E'rák.

Now great confusion arose about the succession to the throne of Persia. It is a well-ascertained fact that in the beginning of A.H. 13 the first of the month Muharram of which fell on the 7th March 634, Yazdegird, the last king of Persia, must have been on the throne already 1 year 7 months and 21 days, and therefore the very brief reigns of Shahriráz or Shahrirán, of Dukht Zemán, of Shápúr the son of the former, and of Arzemidukht, which are so insignificant that they have been omitted by the majority of historians, must all have taken place before that time. It will be seen from the chronological table given in the beginning of this paper that, according to the best authorities, the reign of Purándukht preceded that of Arzemidukht, and cannot have been later than A.H. 9; we nevertheless find Tabari,* and Caussin de Perceval who followed both him and Ibn Khaldún, assigning to her a reign after A.H. 13 and after the recall of Khâled.

When Shahriráz died, Dukht Zeán, a daughter of Khosru Parviz, is said to have occupied the throne of Persia for a moment, and was succeeded by Shápúr the son of Shahriráz, who granted to his minister Farrukhzád B. Bendowán the hand of another daughter of Khosru Parviz, namely, Arzemidukht. This princess, indignant at the idea of a marriage which she considered ignominious, entered into a conspiracy with an officer named Syawuksh, who slew Farrukhzád, besieged the king in his palace, took possession of his person, deprived him of life, and placed Arzemidukht on the throne.

These sudden and violent changes, together with the disorder they entailed, hindered the Persians from making new efforts to wrest from the Musalmáns their new conquests. All this, however, made the position of Mosanna—who was with a feeble army compelled to hold a vast extent of territory incessantly threatened by an enemy whose resources were immense—not the less dangerous and precarious. Uneasy about the state of Abu Bekr, from whom he had for some time not received any letters, and profiting by the respite which the Persians allowed him, this general determined to go himself to Medinah in order to solicit reinforcements, and to ask for permission to enrol under his banners those fractions of the Bekrites and other Arab tribes which, although they were formerly guilty of apostacy and revolt, had

* *Ibid.* III., p. 369.

now returned to Islam, and eagerly offered themselves to combat the infidels, but whose services the Khalif had hitherto refused to accept. Accordingly on the day preceding his death, Abu Beḳr saw the arrival of Mosanna Ben Háresah, whom Khâled had, on his departure to Syria, entrusted with the command of the Musalmán troops he had in Persian E'rák. Although the death of Abu Bekr was drawing near, he still retained full lucidity of mind. The statement made to him by Mosanna concerning the position of the army in E'ráḳ excited all his solicitude, and he sent for O'mar. "Listen," said he, "to the instructions I have to give thee, and promise me to carry them out. This day is, I believe, the last of my life. Begin to-morrow morning to make a solemn appeal to the Musalmáns that the men able to bear arms may depart in all haste, and join the troops of Mosanna. If the generals who are fighting in Syria are successful, cause the troops of Khâled to return to the E'ráḳ as soon as they have become masters of the chief points of that country." Abu Bekr expired that very evening. He had reigned 2 years 3 months and some days. His death is said to have taken place between the 16th and 22nd Jomáẓa the 2nd A.H. 13, or between the 18th and 28th August 634.*

The first act of O'mar was to deprive Khâled of his command in Syria, then he convoked the Musalmáns and addressed them as follows:—"Musalmáns! God has promised to His prophet that he would cause his people to conquer Syria, the country of Rúm and Persia; and God never leaves his promises unfulfilled. Now, do not hesitate. Here is Mosanna, who has come to you from E'ráḳ! Depart to E'ráḳ!" But no one responded to this appeal. Then O'már continued:—"Who will sacrifice his life and his property for the cause of God?" No one offered himself, as they were all discontented with O'mar because he had removed Khâled from the chief command of the troops, in spite of the brilliant victories he had achieved in the cause of Islám. O'mar remained confused at these refusals, and felt ashamed in the presence of Mosanna. The Mohájers, the Ançárs, and a multitude of other Musalmáns were present in the assembly. The next day O'mar again harangued the people; he recited many verses of the Ḳorán, but in vain; no Musalmán presented himself to depart, and the assembly dispersed. The third day O'mar delivered another oration to

* According to the Annals of Eutychius, Oxon, 1658, Abu Bekr is said to have reigned from 28th May 632 till 28th August 634.

encourage the people to war, but unsuccessfully, then Mosanna rose and said, "Musalmáns, hasten to the sacred war! Fear not any very great dangers on the side of Persia or E'rák̤, as these countries are more easy to conquer than any others. The greatest portion of E'rák̤ is already conquered, Ḥirah and the Sawád are in our hands; the Persians are in a precarious position and the Musalmáns have the advantage over them; I have already a strong army there, but I desire to go with reinforcements in order to revive the courage of the Musalmáns."

The first man who rose in consequence of this appeal was Abu O'baydah B. Masu'd. This man, who had not been a companion of the prophet, stood up and said, "Commander of the Faithful! I consent to depart with all those of my people who shall be willing to follow me." Another, Sa'd B. O'baydah, a man of considerable importance, then spoke, but O'mar, afflicted by the hesitation he perceived, said, "Musalmáns, you cannot [always] remain in the territory of Mekka and Medinah, and you cannot betake yourselves to other countries. Since Ḥejáz exists, commerce with Syria, the E'rák̤, Abyssinia, and Yemen has been carried on at Mekka and Medinah, and in the just-mentioned countries fruits, corn, and other goods have been sought, so that a living has been made. Now, however, the whole world is your enemy. If you do not mean to wage war against your enemies you must make peace with them, else you cannot remain here any longer, you would be destitute and miserable." The people present considered this reasoning just, and unanimously declared their readiness to depart; in this manner one thousand men presented themselves. O'mar speaking to Mosanna said, "Thou hast in the E'rák̤ 10,000 men whom Khá̤led has left thee; here are yet one thousand more, who will suffice to reinforce thy army."

Then he designated Abu O'baydah as commander-in-chief. But the people said, "Give us another general, some one of the companions of the prophet,—one who has fought at Bedr." O'mar replied, "You hesitated when I exhorted you to depart. For three days not a man responded to my appeal! Now preference is due to him who offered himself first." Accordingly he gave to Abu O'baydah not only the command of the troops who were to enter on the campaign, but also of those who were already in the E'rák. He ordered Mosanna to start in advance to carry this news to the troops, and to surrender to Abu O'baydah the command of his own soldiers

immediately on his arrival, and to march under the orders of the new general. Mosanna then departed and arrived in Hirah.*

Chapter III.—The Musalma'ns again lose the E'ra'k.

It has been mentioned above that Syawukhsh had, after killing Shápúr the son of Shahriráz, and his minister Farrukhzád, placed Arzemidukht, the daughter of Khosru Parviz, on the throne of Persia. Purán, another daughter of Khosru Parviz, who enjoyed much respect, and had often been selected as an umpire among the various factions which divided the Persians, hastened to inform Rustum the governor of Khorásán of the murder of his father, Farrukhzád. On receiving this news, Rustum, impelled by a desire for vengeance, immediately left Khorásán and hastened to Madayn, where he put to flight the troops opposed to him by Arzemidukht and Syawukhsh, put out the eyes of the former, killed the latter, and placed Purándukht on the throne. This princess accordingly became the queen, whilst Rustum was to be the generalissimo of all the military forces of Persia, and co-regent with her for ten years, on the condition that if at the expiration of this term some male descendant of Khosru Parviz should be discovered, the supreme power would devolve on him as king, but that in the contrary case it would continue to abide in the female line of the royal dynasty.

As soon as Rustum had been invested with authority, he despatched emissaries to various quarters of Arabian E'rák in order to rouse the population against the Musalmáns, whilst he sent a body of troops commanded by Jálinus † from Madayn towards Hirah in order to expel the Musalmáns. This was the position of affairs when the general Mosanna returned, after an absence of more than a month, from Medinah to Hirah. On his arrival Mosanna learnt that already several of the Dehkan class, or large landholders, were beginning to revolt; and that the Persian officers Narsi and Jábán had collected imposing forces, the former being stationed in the district of Kaskar, and the latter in that of Furát-Bádakla. This news made Mosanna apprehensive of a simultaneous attack in front and rear, and therefore he first of all concentrated all his detachments scattered along

* Tabari, III. 369.

† This may have been a Roman, as the name is merely a transliteration of Galenus, or Gallienus.

the river Sib and in other localities at Ḥirah, which he then evacuated with all his troops, and retired towards the southern extremity of E'rāḳ to Khaffán, on the fringe of the desert, where he waited for his chief, Abu O'baydah, who soon made his appearance at the head of the reinforcements he brought. The Musalmáns thus strengthened attacked Jábán and defeated him at Namáriḳ; he was made prisoner by a man named Aktal, who meant to kill him, but allowed him to escape on receiving some precious stones. Jábán, however, being unable to run, wandered about, and being brought into the presence of Abu O'baydah, the general said, "He cannot be killed, as a Musalmán had given him quarter." He was consequently set at liberty.* This is no doubt the same Jábán whom the author of the Rauẓat-al-ṣafa converts all of a sudden to Islám by stating that when he was unhorsed he immediately shouted the words, "There is no God but Allah," &c., whereby he saved his life, and paid in addition a considerable ransom.

When Abu O'baydah was encamped at Namáriḳ and was just about to distribute the plunder, he heard that Narsi had collected a numerous army and that Rustum was sending troops to aid him. He immediately left his camp to attack Narsi before the arrival of the just-mentioned reinforcements. Narsi, on the other hand, being informed of the march of Abu O'baydah, came out from the fortress, and a battle took place in which he was defeated and the fortress of Al-Saḳátiyyah taken. The booty taken there was a large quantity of provisions, and among them a number of things totally unknown to Musalmáns and never before seen by them.

The inhabitants of Ḳasḳar feared that Abu O'baydah might devastate the whole district, and therefore the Dehḳáns, owners, and other inhabitants came from every village to Abu O'baydah to treat with him. He granted them peace and imposed tribute on them. When the Dehḳáns arrived to pay tribute they brought at the same time a large quantity of cakes of all kinds such as the Arabs had never seen, as well as great birds of Ḳasḳar. The Arabs thought they were ostriches, whose flesh they never eat. As to the cakes, they all asked what these things were and how they were called. When Abu O'baydah asked about the birds he was told that they were domestic fowls. Then he exclaimed, "Glory be to God who has created such a bird for his servants!" Then he asked the Dehḳáns, "Why have

* Tabari, III. 371.

you brought me these things? I am not in the habit of receiving presents for myself alone." The Dehkáns replied, "We have brought these presents for the chiefs."

Abu O'baydah despatched a messenger to carry to O'mar the fifth part of the booty and news of the taking of Namárik and Kaskar. He sent him at the same time dried meat, small dried apricots, and fattened fish. The news of these victories gave much satisfaction to O'mar, on account of the reproaches he had met with for removing Khàled from the commandership. He was also greatly pleased on beholding the fifth part of the spoils, and on hearing everything that was told him about the birds, the dishes, and the cakes.*

Chapter IV.—The Battle of the Bridge.

When Jálinus waited on Rustum, the latter blamed him for his flight. The news of this defeat having reached Purándukht, she sent a magnate of Persia named Bahman Jaduyeh, who was one of the highest officers of the army, with 30,000 men and 30 elephants, against Abu O'baydah; she gave him also the celebrated banner called "Direfsh Kavián," which was kept in the royal treasury and considered to be of happy augury.† Rustum sent also Jálinus with Bahman Jaduyeh, to whom he said, "If he happens to flee, cut off his head and send it to me."

Bahman ‡ marched against Abu O'baydah, and arriving on the banks of the Euphrates halted near a village named Koss-al Nátif. At this news Abu O'baydah left Kaskar, gave the command of the vanguard to Mosanna B. Ha'resah, and also marched to the Euphrates, halting near a village called Marwáha. Thus the two armies, separated by the river, came in sight of each other, but the bridge connecting its banks gave the name to the battle which ensued. This bridge was thrown across the river by Abu O'baydah, over which he passed with his army, consisting of 10,000 men, without minding the representations of his principal officers, and gave the signal for attacking the Persians. Bah-

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* Tabari, III. 374.

† This celebrated standard was formed of tiger-skins set with jewels, and was 12 cubits long by 8 broad. It is described in detail in the Shahnámah.

‡ Surnamed by the Arabs *Zulhájeb*, "endued with eyebrows'; for the same reason, *i. e.* their aversion to remember strange names, they dubbed, centuries afterwards, when Napoleon Bonaparte was in Egypt, one of his generals *Abu Zejáj*, 'the father of glass,' because he wore spectacles; and another *Abu'l-farwah*, 'the owner of fur,' on account of his pelisse.

man had ranged his elephants in a line with orders to allow them to fight this day freely: their trunks were protected and their bodies covered. When all was ready the keepers impelled the elephants with yells, and the Musalmáns, who had never before seen them, were confused; their horses, terrified at the sight of these animals and by the noise of their bells, retreated. Some troopers were successful in stopping their horses after alighting and in leading them back, but none were able to keep them quiet. The elephants rushed into the midst of the Musalmán army and broke its lines. Then the Arabs abandoned their horses and threw themselves on the elephants, whose trunks they attacked with their sabres but were unable to inflict any wounds on them. Nevertheless the elephants, frightened by the glare of the swords as well as the blows, concentrated themselves on a single point, and the Musalmáns, abandoning them, likewise massed themselves on one spot, opposite to the Persian army, and engaged in the fight. The Persians sustained the shock for a while, but soon began to flee, and many of them were cut to pieces, so that by the time of evening prayers 6000 of them had been killed and a certain number made prisoners.

Bahman Jaduyeh, who resisted the assaults of the Musalmáns, never left his post, and encouraged his soldiers to fight. A portion of his troops had remained with him, and he endeavoured to recall those who had fled. Then Abu O'baydah shouted, "After all, the elephants decide the affair. As long as these are not repelled the enemies will not yield." The soldiers answered, "What is to be done? Our arms take no effect on the elephants, who are covered with iron from head to foot." Abu O'baydah called for a Persian prisoner, whom he asked how an elephant is to be dealt with, and he replied, "If his trunk is cut he can no more draw breath, and dies." Hereupon Abu O'baydah himself alighted, took his shield and sword, went to the white elephant and struck his trunk, which, however, the animal stretched out, and seizing therewith Abu O'baydah crushed him under foot. The keepers jingled their little bells as a signal of joy and victory, shouting, "We have slain the king of the Arabs." Hereupon those of the Persians who had fled returned. The Musalmáns surrounded the corpse of Abu O'baydah, and the Persians had the advantage. Then an Arab named Jabr B. Nofayr took up the standard and the Musalmáns recommenced the fight, but the Persians soon killed him also; hereupon another general snatched up the banner, who likewise fell, and the same was the case with the seven chiefs Abu O'baydah had designated. At last Mosanna B. Ha'resah took the standard of command, and the Musalmáns ranged themselves

under his orders, but they could not resist the Persians, who had obtained the advantage over them, and fled.*

When Mosanna perceived that the army was yielding, he retreated gently to protect the flight of the Musalmáns in order to allow them to cross the bridge. A man of the Beni Ṣakf named A'bdullah B. Marsad, however, outsped the troops, and destroyed the bridge by sinking the two first boats of it. He placed himself on the way and shouted, "Musalmáns! Return to the battle!" But the soldiers, cavalry as well as infantry, threw themselves into the river, and a certain number of them perished in the waves. When Mosanna arrived and found the bridge cut, he asked A'bdullah why he had acted in this manner, and the latter replied, "To hinder the troops from fleeing." Mosanna replied, "Thou hast done wrong, and hast caused Musalmáns to perish." Then he struck him several times on the head with his whip, and alighting had the boats properly united and the bridge repaired. Although he was himself wounded on the side by a lance-thrust, he waited till all the soldiers had passed, then followed, and had the bridge sunk. The fugitives took the road to Medinah; but Mosanna, being unable to march, remained with 3,000 men on the spot where he was. At the moment when Bahman Jaduyeh arrived near the destroyed bridge and was about to reconstruct it in order to pursue the Musalmáns, he received the news that the army of Persia had revolted against Purándukht, not desiring to have her any longer for a queen, and against Rustum the generalissimo. A letter recalled Bahman Jaduyeh in all haste to Madayn, and he immediately left the army.

This battle, called "the day of the bridge" or of Koss-al-Nátif, as well as the day of Marwáha, and of Kirkis, near which the combat took place, was fought in the month Sha'bán A.H. 13 (Oct. 13 A.D. 634); † 4,000 Musalmáns lost their lives, and 2,000 others returned to Medinah covered with shame. It would have been impossible for Mosanna to escape complete destruction had not Firuzán, aided by numerous adherents, come forward to dispute the authority of Rustum, and both factions being under arms a civil war seemed imminent; therefore Bahman never followed up his victory, but hastened to sup-

* Tabari, III. 379.

† Also this date appears to be too late, as according to the narrative the reign of Yazdegird had not yet begun, whereas according to the date it had lasted already more than 2 years and 3 months.

port Rustum in Madayn instead of pursuing the Arabs, as was just mentioned above, because Firuzán wished to oust him from power, which he appears after all to have taken away from him, as we afterwards find Firuzán sent by Purándukht and fighting against the Arabs;* according to others, however, these two rivals came to a compromise among themselves, and henceforth acted as colleagues in concert with each other, so that the dissensions which agitated Madayn were for a short time calmed.

Mosanna, although for the moment no more threatened by the Persian army, which had departed to Madayn with Bahman, did not consider it prudent to remain in a position as advanced as Marwáha, but went and established his camp on the brink of the desert between Kádesyah and Khaffán, where he was gradually reinforced by hordes of nomadic Arabs who marched and joined him by order of the Khalif. Rustum and Firuzán, the two rivals who had now become colleagues, being informed of the concentration of troops taking place around Mosanna, despatched Mihrán the Hamdáni at the head of 10,000 men to disperse it. Mihrán advanced along the banks of the Euphrates and detached some officers to Hirah, who were received without resistance by the inhabitants; but a Musalmán, who had remained in the town, secretly conveyed information to Mosanna about the march of the foe. Accordingly Mosanna immediately put himself in motion to encounter Mihrán, and entering the district of Furát Bádakla he formed his camp on the right bank of the Euphrates, and Mihrán soon made his appearance on the left. The two armies remained for some days opposite to each other, and whilst the people anxiously waited for the issue of the struggle about to break out, two hordes of Arab Christians belonging to the Mesopotamian tribes Taghleb and Namar, which had come to these localities for the purpose of selling horses, offered their services to Mosanna, preferring to make common cause with the nation from which they had sprung than with the Persians. Mosanna accepted the useful auxiliaries; and Mihrán having crossed the Euphrates without opposition on the part of the Musalmáns, a combat took place in the month Ramzán A. H. 13 (Nov. 634), in which Mihrán was slain, a moiety of his army annihilated, and the rest put to flight. The most acute loss with which the Musalmáns obtained this dearly-bought victory was that of Masu'd B. Háresah, the brother of their commander-in-chief.

* Tabari, p. 381.

The Arabs pursued the fugitives as far as the district of Sib and even to the gates of Sábát, a town situated on the Tigris opposite to Madayn, plundering and devastating everything on their route, and bringing back immense booty to the camp. Afterwards Mosanna again entered Ḥirah, where the women and children of Musalmán soldiers had been left since the retreat from Marwáha, and were well treated by the inhabitants, from whom he nevertheless exacted a slight augmentation of tribute for having sheltered the officers of Mihrán.

Having taken a few days' rest in Ḥirah, Mosanna entrusted the town tó the keeping of Beshir, and marched with the bulk of the army to Al-Lis, a village in the territory of Anbár, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, whence he sent out detachments of cavalry to pillage the whole region fertilized by the Tigris and subject to the Persians, whilst he himself surprised Khanafis, and afterwards Baghdád, which happened as follows:—

A man came to Mosanna and said, "The Persians hold twice a year a fair, to which merchandize, in greater quantity than exists in the whole world, is brought. This fair takes place in a village situated on the banks of the Euphrates and called Baghdád." Mosanna replied, "Find me a guide who can lead me there through byeways." When the guide arrived, Mosanna departed with two thousand men. After having marched for three days through out-of-the-way localities, they arrived at Baghdád, killed two thousand men of the garrison which they had surprised, and put the others to flight. The Musalmáns took away one thousand camels loaded with goods of all kinds, and returned to the Sawád, whence they made plundering raids in all directions; these also, however, soon ceased, as will now be shown, and they retreated soon after the accession of Yazdegird towards the desert, leaving the Persians in full possession of E'ráḳ.

Chapter V.—Yazdegird IV., the last of the Sa'sa'nians.

Rustum and Firuzán had made no efforts to put a stop to the just-mentioned raids, and this inaction displeased the people as well as the magnates of Persia, who attributed all the misfortunes of the State to the rivalries of these two men, so much so that they rose against them and threatened them with death. Seeing that they had no chance of retaining authority, Firuzán and Rustum determined to give Persia a king who might enjoy the support of the people. Accordingly they caused all the wives and concubines of the royal family massacred by Shiruyeh to be sought out and questioned. After the murder of these

princes their wives had been shut up in a palace, where Shiruyeh had caused their male infants to be slain. But the ingenious tenderness of a mother might have robbed the executioner of a victim. Indeed, one of these women confessed that she had succeeded in saving the life of a son of Shehryár Ben Khosru Parviz, whom she let down from a window in a basket tied to a rope, and entrusted to a relative, to be brought up secretly. This young scion of the royal house, named Yazdegird, at that time about twenty years old, was found, and, after being recognized, was acknowledged sovereign by acclamation, whereupon all the factions that had hitherto separated the Persians forgot their divisions, and united in one common feeling of devotion to the person of the new monarch, and in zeal for the public interest.

Yazdegird, being intelligently advised, and profiting by the enthusiasm of the people, immediately took measures to drive out the Musalmáns from Arabian E'rák. Numerous troops were raised, and generals appointed to march with them simultaneously to Anbár, Hirah, and Obolla. These threatening preparations, with the activity and vigour they presaged with reference to the forthcoming military operations, produced a deep impression upon the rural as well as upon the town population which had submitted to the Musalmáns, their minds were excited, and symptoms of insurrection began to appear on all sides. Mosanna, aware of his inability to resist the impending storm, prudently yielded to the signs of the times, and retired in the month Zulka'dah A.H. 13 (end of December 634) towards the desert, allowing the Persians to occupy without any resistance all the points of the E'rák where the Musalmáns had been masters.

Whilst Mosanna was taking this defensive position, and Western E'rák again obeyed Persia, he wrote to O'mar, "The situation of the Persians is strengthened, they are killing Musalmáns. A new king has ascended the throne, and a general is marching against us."* The Khalif O'mar was determined at any cost to reconquer E'rák, and despatched messengers demanding new soldiers from every Arab tribe. According to the position of their territories, some of these tribes were enjoined to send their levies direct to E'rák, whilst others had to take the route to the Hejáz in order to concentrate themselves at Zerár near Medinah, where some of the contingents actually arrived about the month Zulhejjah A. H. 13 (Jan.–Feb. 635), and where also O'mar

* Tabari, III. 385.

himself, leaving A'li as his representative at Medinah, made his appearance in the company of the principal men among the Mohájer and the Ançár, on New Year's Day A.H. 14 (26 Feb. 635). In a council there, O'mar intimated his desire of himself leading the army to E'rák̦, but was dissuaded by his chief councillors; and at last Sa'd Ben Abu Vok̦áç, one of the warriors who had most bravely fought at the battle of Ohod to defend the life of Muḥammad, was appointed commander-in-chief of the expedition.

O'mar had also informed the Arabs who wished to shake off the Musalmán yoke after the death of Muḥammad, and had revolted against Abu Bekr, but afterwards again made profession of Islám, that he would accept their services. This declaration attracted multitudes of Arabs who were ready to take part in the war against the infidels, and thus to show the sincerity of their return to the religion of the prophet. When Sa'd arrived in the country of the Beni Tamym he added to his troops 4,000 men of this tribe and of the Reba'b, who were expecting him on the frontier of their territory. Then he went to Zorúd, where he encamped and halted, thinking that Mosanná would come there; the latter, however, never arrived, but died at Zuk̦ár in consequence of the wound he had received in his side at the Battle of the Bridge; but his wife, being very beautiful, was married by Sa'd.

As soon as Yazdegird had become aware of the first movements of Sa'd, he ordered a considerable army to be levied, which was destined to march against him under the command of Rustum, who enjoyed at that time among the Persians the highest military reputation. 12,000 soldiers were assembled at Sábát for this expedition, but Rustum, who did not approve of it, was dilatory, because according to his opinion it would have been best to divide this army into several corps, to be sent one after the other against the Musalmáns, who would, even in case of defeating each of these separate corps, become fatigued and diminished in numbers by successive attacks, when he would afterwards himself come forth with a numerous reserve force to inflict more sure blows upon the enfeebled enemy; whereas in case he were all at once to engage against the Musalmáns all the disposable forces of Persia and were to be defeated, there was reason to fear that the Persians would never recover their courage after such a catastrophe, and that the fate of the empire would be seriously compromised. As all these reasons did not appear convincing to Yazdegird, Rustum went to Sábát to take command of the army, but still delayed his departure under various pretexts.

Yazdegird had also induced Kábús B. Kábús B. Munzir IV., one of the last scions of the royal race of Hirah, who was there living in obscurity, to debauch the Beni Shaybán and other Bakrites constituting the Musalmán detachments stationed at Kotkotána and Zukár, on the promise to reinstall him as king of Hirah in case of success. Accordingly, Kábús took up his quarters at Kádesyah, on the limits of the desert, whence he wrote to the Bakrites seeking to awaken the ancient bonds of attachment which united them to his family, and endeavouring to attract them; but these stratagems took no effect,—on the contrary, Mua'nnah B. Háresah, brother of the general who had recently died, left the camp of Zukár, marched towards Kábús, surprised him in Kádesyah, and killed him, with all those who had accompanied him in this enterprise.

Chapter VI.—Progress of the Musalma'ns.

At Shiráf all the troops who had obeyed Mosanna gradually concentrated themselves around the new commander-in-chief, except Mua'nnah, who, having been delayed in the just-mentioned expedition against Kábús, was the last to arrive. He brought to Sa'd B. Vokáç the letter dictated by his brother Mosanna at the moment when his end drew near. This general offered to his successor the advice which an experience of several years of fighting against the Persians had enabled him to give:—He entreated Sa'd to harass the enemy by invasions, but never to endanger the bulk of his army by marching into the heart of E'rák as long as union prevailed in the government of Yazdegird, and not to accept a battle except on the confines of the desert, where the Musalmáns might find a retreat in case of a check; he terminated his letter by recommending Selma his wife to the benevolent protection of Sa'd, who, as has been seen above, immediately married her, and, acknowledging the wisdom of Mosanna's advice, eulogized him publicly.

The number of warriors who had been commanded by Mosanna amounted to about 12,000 men: namely, 8,000 of the posterity of Rabya'h, among whom 6,000 were Bakrites; 2,000 Bajilahs, and 2,000 of the Kozáa and Tay. Other new levies were still arriving, among whom were 1,700 Kindians led by Al-Asha's Ben Kays, heir of the princes of Kindah, who had remained inactive since Abu Bekr had pardoned his revolt. These troops together with those brought by Sa'd formed a total of about 30,000 men.

More than a month elapsed in organizing the army and placing it on a new footing. Sa'd arranged it in divisions, subdivisions, and companies broken up into squads of ten men each, every one being commanded by its decurion, in imitation of the method adopted by Muḥammad in all his expeditions. All the officers, the subaltern as well as the higher ones, were selected among the oldest Musalmáns, but especially among those who had fought under the prophet. Yet another month elapsed in transmitting news of these arrangements to the Khálif, and waiting for his orders to begin operations. These orders arrived at last: the army moved away from Shiráf and set out in the direction of Ḳádesyah, but halted first at Oẓayb, where it took possession of a small fort abandoned by the Persian garrison at its approach. From this place Sa'd B. Voḳáç despatched squadrons of cavalry to scour the country all round; one of these detachments advanced in the direction of Ḥirah and met a company of Persians conveying Sinnin, the sister of the Marzbán who commanded the city, to the governor of another place, whose bride she was. Her escort was soon dispersed, and she was, together with the rich dowry intended for her husband, carried to the camp of Oẓayb.

Ḳádesyah, on the western frontier of E'ráḳ, was situated four miles north-east of Oẓayb and about four leagues distant from Ḥirah, between the "ditch of Shápúr,"* a fosse dug by the just-named king to impede the invasion of the Arabs, and the bed of an old arm or canal of the Euphrates at that time nearly dry, called "Al-a'tyḳ," crossed by the "Ḳantarat-al-a'tyḳ," *i.e.* bridge of the a'tyḳ or old arm, on the road leading to Ḥirah. Ḳádesyah succumbed without a blow, and the Musalmán vanguard took up a position near it, in front of the just-mentioned bridge, whilst Sa'd with the rearguard stationed himself at Ḳodays, a small fort in the district of Oẓayb, the rest of the army being scattered on the intervening ground, whilst the wives and children of the soldiers remained under the protection of a detachment in Oẓayb itself.

In this position Sa'd determined to wait for the attack of the Persians, but the troops of Yazdegird, shut up in the towns and fortresses

* The *Khandak Sháhpúr* was a broad and deep trench extending from the town of Ḥyt to the district of Kázima on the Persian Gulf, which proved in the end but a weak obstacle to the Arabs, as the greater part was soon filled with sand. Its traces, however, still existed in front of the little town of Ḳádesyah, and a portion of it was yet kept in good condition. (Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*, &c. II. p. 51.)

situated on both banks of the Euphrates, kept themselves immoveable, desirous to allure the enemy into the interior of the country, where they hoped to be able to fight him to greater advantage. Meanwhile squadrons of Musalmán cavalry were gradually detached from head-quarters, and devastated the whole frontier from Anbár as far as the district of Ḳasḳar and of Maysán. They rushed suddenly on unprotected points and carried off cattle, grain, fruits and provisions, which they rapidly conveyed to their camp, and thus maintained abundance. The agricultural population, being greatly distressed by these raids, incessantly complained to Yazdegird, and at last declared that in case of his failing to succour it, the people would be compelled to hold out their hands to the Musalmáns.

Chapter VII.—The Musalma'n Deputation to Yazdegird.

Whilst Yazdegird, much agitated by the depredations of the Arabs and the cries of distress of his people, was endeavouring to spur Rustum his generalissimo to energetic measures, a deputation of fourteen Musalmáns* arrived in Madayn. The noble and venerable aspect of the oldest, the proud and martial bearing of the youngest, the simplicity of their costume, their striped cloaks, their sandals, the slender whips they carried in their hands, the beauty and vigour of their horses, all struck with surprise the people whom curiosity had gathered around them.

After they had been brought into the presence of Yazdegird, he asked them first some indifferent questions through an interpreter. He wished to know how they called their cloaks, whips, and sandals. They replied *Burd*, *Sauṭ*, and *Na'l*. The analogy between the sound of these Arabic words and the Persian ones designating ideas of taking, burning, and lamenting, appeared of so unwelcome a purport to the monarch and his officers that they changed colour.

"What motive brings you here?" then said Yazdegird, "and why has your nation taken up arms against us?" No'mán B. Maḳarrin, who was the spokesman of his colleagues, replied, "God commanded us by the mouth of his prophet to extend the dominion of Islám over all nations. That order we obey, and say to you, Become our brothers by adopting the Faith, or consent to pay tribute if you wish to avoid war.

* As the names of these fourteen deputies do not agree with those I find in Tabari, I omit them.

"The dissensions which have for some years troubled Persia have greatly emboldened you," said Yazdegird, "but we are now in a position to make you feel our power as you experienced it formerly, when the garrisons of our frontiers sufficed to stop you or to chastise you. Mice and serpents are your food, and you have nothing to dress with except the wool of camels and sheep. Who are you to tackle yourselves on to our empire? Of all the nations of the world you are the poorest, the most disunited, the most ignorant, the most estranged from the arts which constitute the sources of wealth and power. If a foolish presumption has taken hold of you, open your eyes, and cease to indulge in deceitful illusions. If misery and want have driven you out from your deserts, we shall grant you food and raiment, we shall deal liberally with your chiefs, and we shall give you a king who will govern you with gentleness and wisdom."

The deputies kept silence for a while, but one of them soon broke it: "My companions," said he, "are men of distinction among Arabs. If, in consequence of a demeanour which their sense of delicacy impels them to use towards an august personage, they hesitate to reply and frankly to express their thoughts, I shall do it for them and speak with the liberty of a Bedáwi. What thou hast said about our poverty, our divisions, and our state of barbarism was nevertheless true. Yes, we were so wretched that persons could be seen among us appeasing their hunger by feeding on insects and serpents, whilst some killed their daughters to avoid sharing their food with them. Plunged in the darkness of superstition and idolatry, without laws or restraint, always foes to each other, we were occupied only in robbing and killing each other. This is what we have been. At present we are a new people. God has raised in our midst a man, the most distinguished of Arabs by the nobility of his birth, by his virtues, by his genius; and God has selected him to be his apostle and his prophet. Through the organ of this man God has said to us, 'I am the only God, eternal, the creator of the universe. My goodness sends you a guide to direct you. The way which he shows you will deliver you from the pain I reserve in the life to come for the impious and the criminal, and will lead you near me, to the sojourn of felicity.' Persuasion gradually insinuated itself into our hearts; we have believed in the mission of the prophet; we have recognized that his words are the words of God, and his commands the commands of God, and that the religion he announced to us, which he called Islám, is the only true religion. He has enlightened our minds,

he has extinguished our hatreds, he has united us to a society of brothers under laws dictated by divine wisdom. Then he said to us, 'Complete my work, spread everywhere the dominion of Islám. The earth belongs to God, he gives it to you. The nations which shall embrace your faith will be assimilated to yourselves; they shall enjoy the same advantages and will be subject to the same laws. On those who will be desirous to retain their beliefs you are to impose the obligation of declaring themselves subject to you and of paying you tribute, in consideration whereof you are to cover them with your protection. But those who shall refuse to accept Islám on the conditions of tributaries, you are to fight them until you have exterminated them. Some of you will perish in this struggle; those who fall therein will obtain paradise, and those who survive, victory.' These are the destinies of power and glory towards which we confidently march. At present thou knowest us: it is for thee to choose either Islám or tribute, or else war unto death."

"If I entertained no regard for your quality as deputies," replied Yazdegird, "I would instantly deprive you of life." Uttering these words, he ordered a bag full of earth to be brought, and ironically alluding to the tribute the envoys had ventured to demand he said to them, "This is all you will get from me. Return to your general. Inform him that Rustum will in a few days go to bury him with his whole army in the trench of Ḳádesyah." Then he added, "Let this bag be placed on the shoulders of the chief of the deputation, and let these men be pushed out from the gates of Madayn." Asim Ben A'mru hastened forward to receive this load, and, far from feeling humbled thereby, he lifted it on his head with an air of satisfaction, which appeared to Yazdegird to be a mark of stupidity.

The Arabs had scarcely departed, when Rustum, having been informed of the details of the conference and of the manner in which it terminated, immediately understood the presage which had excited the joy of Asim. He sent persons to run after the deputies in order to take away from them the earth which they were carrying away as a pledge that heaven had granted them success in their war against the Persians; they had however progressed so far that all pursuit was vain, and when they reached Ḳodays, Asim, depositing the bag before his general, exclaimed, "The soil of Persia is ours!"

Chapter VIII.—Battle of Ḳa'desyah.

Rustum decided himself at last to put his army in motion, and advanced towards the Euphrates. He made several halts in his march, but wherever he passed, the robberies and violence of his troops, which he vainly endeavoured to restrain, drew upon him the maledictions of the inhabitants. After that he encamped near Ḥirah, where he summoned the principal Arab Christians domiciled in that town to his presence, and bitterly reproached them for having paid allegiance to the Musalmáns, as well as aided them by paying contributions. Ibn Baḳilah, one of these Arabs, replied, "When even your troops were compelled to flee from the enemy, could we alone offer useless resistance? We are your subjects, and it was your duty to defend us, but you knew not how to do it; be not therefore offended that we have ourselves ensured our safety by sacrificing a part of our possessions. Our condition, like that of the indigenous population of these countries, is to obey the stronger party." Rustum admitted the justice of this excuse, was appeased, and dismissed the Christians of Ḥirah without exacting anything from them.

Hitherto Rustum had marched very slowly, because he was probably, in spite of the magnitude of his army, apprehensive of meeting the same fate as the other generals whom the Musalmáns had vanquished, and perhaps hoped that the enemy would, from impatience, or from the difficulty of subsisting for a long time in the same place, either attack him or disperse, or perhaps even return to Arabia. On perceiving, however, that the Musalmáns obstinately stuck to their threatening position at Ḳádesyah, he resolved to attack them, and removed his camp to the same locality, pitching it on the banks of the old arm of the Euphrates, Al-A'tyḳ, just opposite to that occupied by the vanguard of Sa'd B. Voḳáç.

In order to obtain personally an opportunity of ascertaining the spirit which animated the Musalmáns, Rustum sent an invitation to some of their officers to have a parley, and Ribi' B. Amir, Ḥozayfah B. Ḥism, and Moghayrah B. Sho'bah came to him one after the other. He could not restrain himself from admiring the firmness of their language and the energy of their convictions. The only result of these conferences was to fix the day and the place of the battle. It was agreed that the Persians should cross the A'tyḳ and seek the Musalmáns on the other bank. Rustum demanded that he should be allowed a free passage over the bridge, but Sa'd replied, "We shall never yield that to you of which we are masters." After this

refusal, Rustum got a portion of the A'tyḳ filled with rubbish and fascines, so as to form a road, over which his whole army marched on the day agreed upon for the battle. He took his position on a golden seat covered by a canopy, whilst the generals serving under his orders, such as Firuzán, Mihrán, Bahman, Zulḥájeb, Hormuzán, and Jálenus, placed the troops in battle array, and distributed thirty-three elephants bearing towers filled with soldiers, and resembling moveable castles, among the various corps, on the flanks and the centre of the army.*

On the other hand the Musalmáns also took their measures, in which however Sa'd, who suffered from the sciatic gout, and was moreover at that time afflicted with a malady which covered his body with ulcers, not being able to take part, remained shut up in the fort of Ḳodays; on being however informed that with reference to this strange rumours were afloat, he came out, showed his wounds and was excused; he appointed Khâled B. A'rfaṭa to command in his stead, and exhorted the army in a lively allocution, addressed to those who were near enough to hear him, to deserve by their bravery the fulfilment of the promises of heaven; whilst at the same time the officers most distinguished for their ability to speak, as well as poets such as Shemmákh, Ḥotayah O'bdah B. Ṭabib and others, kept passing through the lines and inflamed the ardour of the soldiers by their speeches or by their verses. Then Sa'd ordered also the Surah of the Korán bearing the title "The spoils" to be recited, as was the custom of the Musalmáns before fighting, which excited their zeal and confidence to the highest pitch.

The battle of Ḳádesyah lasted several days before the victory was decided and the fighting ceased, and the Arabs assigned to each day a separate name. The action commenced with single combats, but as the names given of the duellists by various authors do not agree, it will be best to omit them altogether. It is however certain that, as in several of the battles already described, also on this occasion, the hostile armies rushed at each other *en masse* when the number of duellists had grown very large, and the excitement became general. According to the Rauzat-al-çafa the Persian champions made many prisoners by throwing the *kamand*† over the heads of their antagonists, and so

* According to Tabari, III. 388, about 50,000 men appear to have fought in this battle on the Persian, and 30,000 on the Musalmán side.

† The *kamand* was a long rope with a noose—the lasso still in use in South America to catch wild horses in the prairies.

exasperated the Arabs that they made a general rush at them, but were received with a deluge of arrows, whereupon they attacked the Persians with still greater impetuosity, throwing away their lances, and using only their sabres. Nothing is said about the elephants, whereas according to Tabari* they also played a conspicuous part by frightening the horses of the Musalmán cavalry, but were turned away by one thousand men who alighted and attacked them on foot. The contest lasted till night; the carnage was great on both sides, but the contending parties appear to have been so equally balanced that neither of them gained an advantage over the other. This was called "the day of Armát."

When the next morn dawned, the Musalmáns, who had buried their dead, entrusted their wounded to the care of the women in their rear at Oẓayb, and prepared to renew the struggle; the Persians also put themselves in motion and took position in a locality called Aghwás. The hostile armies were drawn up in battle array and the fight commenced: Persian and Arab warriors issued from the ranks, and the combat again lasted till night set in. Great numbers of Musalmáns were slain. Sa'd B. Abu Voḳáç, sitting with his wife on the terrace of the castle, contemplated the fight. His wife, beholding the great number of Musalmán corpses, exclaimed, "Alas! where art thou, O Mosanna, son of Ḥáresah?" Whereupon Sa'd gave her a slap on the face.† His wife, who was intelligent, continued, "Why this jealousy? ought you not rather to regret the deaths of so many Musalmáns?" Sa'd said to himself, "This woman is aware that the position of the Musalmáns is bad, therefore she speaks thus. To-morrow I shall mount my horse, and I shall do what I can." Many more Musalmáns were yet slain on that day,‡ but according to others the Persians lost their best officers as well as 10,000 men. This was called "the day of Aghwás." On this day Rustum was deprived of the aid of his elephants, whose wooden towers had been overturned and broken on the eve. The Musalmáns had moreover contrived to drive against the Persian cavalry a number of camels covered with long pieces of loose cloth, and the strange aspect of the animals thus decked out frightened the Persian horses yet more than the sight of the elephants had terrified the Arab coursers.

* Tabari, III. 390.
† This little incident is also mentioned in the "Rauzat-al-çafa" in nearly the same words.
‡ Tabari, III. 390.

The third day of this great battle proved to be still more sanguinary than the two preceding ones. Here however again a difficulty occurs: Caussin de Perceval states, no doubt on good grounds, that on the second day of the battle reinforcements from Syria, where Khâled B. Volid had been very successful, and which were therefore detached from his army, had arrived; whereas according to Tabari these were not actual reinforcements, or had at any rate not arrived on this occasion; for he says Ḳa'ḳa' had taken the command of the army, and, knowing that Rustum would obtain reinforcements, he detached five thousand Musalmáns, sent them away on the route to Syria and said, "March to the distance of one parasang and remain there till to-morrow. When the Musalmán army engages in the battle, you are to make your appearance on the horizon, to induce the infidels to believe that the Musalmáns have received help." Ḳa'ḳa' took this measure because he feared the Musalmáns might the next morning, on beholding the arrival of new Persian troops, become frightened, and take to their heels.

The next morning [the third day] when the battle commenced, Ḳa'ḳa passed in front of the Musalmáns and said, "Be not dismayed, help will come to you this day." That moment the detachment appeared in sight. Ḳa'ḳa' ran to meet these troops and assigned to them a post distant from the soldiers, so as not to be recognized. The Musalmáns raised their shouts of war for joy. The 20,000 men sent by Yazdegird had arrived, and without this stratagem of Ḳa'ḳa' the Musalmán army would have been annihilated.* The elephants, whose towers had been repaired, at first caused disorder among a portion of the Musalmán troops. At last one of them was slain, and a second, whose eye had been put out and the extremity of his trunk cut off, issuing from the thickest of the fight began to run about from right to left on the battle-field, whilst the other elephants, wounded by the arrows of the Arabs, and impelled by a similar rage, followed suit; and this formidable band, after rushing about for some time at random between the two armies, at last turned to the Persians, broke through their lines, jumped into the A'tyḳ, crossed it, and fled in the direction of Madayn. The battle, interrupted for a while by this strange spectacle, recommenced with such obstinacy that even night itself could not mitigate it. The battle of the past day had obtained the name of "the day of Amas"†—

* Tabari, III. 391.

† Read "Imás" by Zotenberg. Tabari, III. 390, but I do not take it upon myself to decide which pronunciation is the more correct.

probably, like the other, from some locality near which it had raged most; but this night was called "Lailat-al-harir," "the night of roaring," from the confused noise of the clashing of arms, shouting of men, and neighing of horses. This night was fatal to the Persians, and the next morning dawned upon their total defeat. Here again a difference occurs about the name of the man who slew Rustum the Persian generalissimo, but he was either Hilál B. Ollafa or Hilál B. O'lkama, or Amru B. Ma'di Karib. The account of Rustum's death is as follows:—

The Persians resisted till the moment when the day became hot. Then a hurricane arose in the west, conveying into the eyes of the Persians a dust so black and so thick that the two armies were no longer able to distinguish each other. Rustum had caused his seat to be erected on the bank of the river, and caused one thousand camels loaded with gold and silver to be placed around it. Two thousand men were posted there, who spread a canopy over the seat of Rustum, to shelter him when the sun became burning hot. This canopy however was thrown by the wind, which blew with great violence, into the river of Kádesyah, named "A'tyk," which connected the Euphrates with the Tigris. Rustum, being no longer able to keep his seat, sought shade near a camel and sat down. At the foot of the seat stood the banner called the *Kaianian standard*, originating from Kai, and borne by him on the occasion when, issuing from Espahán, he vanquished Zohák. Since that time the Persians had been victorious in all the battles where this standard was present, and after every victory thus obtained some new jewels were added to its ornaments.

When the heat had become still more powerful, or the dust had blinded the Persian soldiers, the Musalmáns concentrated their efforts on a single point, and broke into the centre of the hostile army. Rustum observed the position of his troops from the spot near the camels where he was seated: the troops of the centre were dispersed on the ground or standing, whilst the left and the right flanks had retained their positions.

An Arab, named Hilál B. A'lkama, arriving near the camels loaded with the treasures of Rustum, struck about with his sabre, and accidentally hit the camel under which Rustum was sitting, whom the obscurity produced by the dust had hindered from seeing. The rope fixing the load of treasure on the camel's back having been cut, the load fell on Rustum's head, who sprang to his feet in spite of the pain he felt, and threw himself into the canal in order to escape by swimming.

Hilál perceived a man endeavouring to flee, and smelt the odour of musk and perfumes; lastly, he took notice also of the golden seat with the Kaianian standard, and recognized the seat of Rustum. As he beheld no one near the seat, he was sure that the man who had just thrown himself into the water must be Rustum himself. The latter not being able to move, because he had, when leaping, broken his leg, Ḥilál ran, seized it, cut Rustum's head off and tied it to the top of his lance. Then he mounted on the seat shouting, "Musalmáns, I have killed Rustum!" The Musalmans replied by a shout of triumph. When the Persians saw the head of their commander, they gave way; both the right and the left wing began also to flee.*

The celebrated battle of Ḳádesyah was fought in the month Muharram A. H. 15 (Feb.—March 636) according to Caussin de Perceval, and Rasmussen.† Ibn Khaldún places it in Muharram A.H. 14, but states that there are also authors who place it A.H. 16; Tabari also places it A.H. 14.‡

CHAPTER IX.—THE MUSALMA'NS REST THEMSELVES AND STRENGTHEN THEIR POSITION.

No pitched battle appears to have taken place between that of Ḳádesyah in the first month of A.H. 15 and the occupation of Madayn, which happened during the latter part of the same year.§ The army indeed is represented to have asked orders from O'mar to advance further, as the whole conquest had hitherto not been extended to any district of Persia, but was still limited to the E'ráḳ, containing an Arab population but tributary to the Persian empire. It was the desire of O'mar that the army should for a while remain in its present advanced position near Ḳádesyah, but as the soldiers were falling sick he wrote to Sa'd as follows:—" The Arabs must have a country in which there are camels, sheep, and pastures; this is the air suitable for them. Ascertain from the inhabitants of the Sowád where meadows and sheep are found, and establish thy camp there." Sa'd examined the whole country, and found the climate of Kufah most convenient,

* Tabari, III. 397.

† *Annales Islamici*, p. 1; but the month is not given there.

‡ Tabari, III. 400.

§ If we adhere to the data of Tabari, according to whom the battle of Ḳádesyah took place A. H. 14, and Madayn was taken A. H. 16, the uttermost interval allowable will be about 35 months, during which the Musalmáns received new accessions to their army, rested from fatigue, and strengthened their hold of E'ráḳ.

because the air is there as healthy as in the desert, and the country is but partially cultivated. Accordingly Sa'd established his camp there, and began founding the town.

The whole province of the Sowád, as far as Madayn, which had formerly been conquered by Khâled B. Walid and had been lost, was now again under Musalmán power. During the time of Khâled a portion of the inhabitants had been converted to Islám, and another, persevering in its own religion, had received from him charters of security and had paid tribute. When Sa'd had again taken possession of the Sowád the population wished to renew these treaties. Then Sa'd addressed the following letter to O'mar:—"Those inhabitants of the Sowád who are Musalmáns are entirely devoted to me, but those who had conserved their ancient religion and had treated with Khâled again fell away on the arrival of Rustum, and have made common cause with him. Now they allege that, having been forced by Rustum to submit, they were not in a condition to offer resistance, and they desire to renew the treaties we had formerly granted them. Moreover, the Persians were in the habit of levying a tribute in the Sowád in favour of certain courtiers of the king who received it. Some of these men are to this day in the country, whilst others are elsewhere, and some have gone to Madayn. What is to be done in these circumstances?" O'mar replied to Sa'd, "As to those who have remained faithful, and who have come to submit, observe towards them the conditions granted, and keep the engagements. But as for those who have not made their appearance to ask for peace, and who have committed acts of hostility, thou wilt know how to deal with them." This order of O'mar was expedited after deliberation with the companions of the prophet, who had judged thus; and Sa'd obeyed their instructions.

After the battle of Ḳádesyah and the destruction of the Persian army, O'mar, fearing that the king of Persia might ask aid from the king of O'mán and from the king of Hindostán, and that they would grant it, considered it proper to send a body of troops to the mouth of the Tigris, and to build there a town inhabited by Arabs, in order to hinder the Persians from introducing auxiliaries. Therefore he called for O'tbah B. Ghazwán, who had been a companion of the prophet, and spoke to him thus:—"God has caused Islám to triumph by my hand, and has broken the Persians. Now I want to have the route between Hindostán and O'mán guarded, that the

Persians may receive no aid from that side. Thou must go there with thy body of troops, and build a town where you will be comfortable, thou and the Musalmán soldiers." This place, which was at first only considered a strategic point, soon attracted multitudes of Arabs from all quarters, and became in a few years a flourishing city, called Boçrah.†

Ḥirah, formerly the capital of the Lakhmite kings, and afterwards the residence of Persian satraps, had hitherto lost nothing of its prosperity, but gradually decayed when Kufah, which soon became an important town, was built at a distance of three miles to the south-east of it. After Sa'd had ensured the submission of the neighbourhood of Ḥirah, he marched to Bábel, where the fragments of the Persian army had assembled under the generals Firuzán, Hormuzán, and Mihrán; these he attacked and dispersed. Mihrán retired to Madayn, destroying the bridge in his rear; Hormuzán reached the district of Ahváz, and Firuzán went to shut himself up at Nehávend, where the treasures of the king of Persia were.

On the right bank of the Tigris, near Sabát, was another town, named Nahr Shír, and situated opposite to Madayn, of which it was considered a dependency. As it was defended by a numerous garrison, Sa'd was obliged to besiege it. He employed engines of war and often assaulted the place, but the siege was protracted in spite of all his efforts. In order therefore to utilize the time and to employ the cavalry, the services of which were useless against enemies entrenched within walls, Sa'd despatched it to subjugate various districts of E'ráḳ west of the Tigris, where he had himself not yet penetrated with his troops. According to instructions received from O'mar, he ordered his lieutenants who commanded these raids, to treat kindly the indigenous Arab population if it accepted the conditions to become tributary, but to be severe against all who should attempt to elude them by flight. After a defence of several months the garrison of Nahr Shír, enfeebled and discouraged, evacuated the place, and escaped in boats to Madayn.

Now everywhere the law of the Khalif was received without resistance, and all the parts of E'ráḳ comprised between the Tigris and the Euphrates were definitively conquered by the Musalmán power.

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† According to Rasmussen, Boçrah was founded A.H. 14 (A.D. 635): *Annales Islamici*, p. 1.

CHAPTER X.—THE TAKING OF MADAYN.*

It has been seen in the preceding chapter that Sa'd B. Abu Voḳáç was resting his troops at Kufah by order of O'mar; the latter addressed in the beginning of A.H. 16 a letter to him in the following terms:—"Thy army is now refreshed and rested, and God has spread Islám in the world whilst the Persians remained quiet at Madayn. But if the Persians desire to remain quiet, do not thou do the same, but march and attack them. If God causes thee to triumph easily, we shall give him thanks; but if he wishes thee to meet with resistance let me know." Sa'd put in motion his army, which consisted of 20,000 men. Soldiers from every town ran to enrol themselves under his banners; for they knew that he would meet with no resistance, as Yazdegird possessed no longer a single man to take command of the army as a chief; so that when Sa'd arrived at Madayn his army numbered 60,000 men.

Yazdegird, being informed that Sa'd was already at Anbár, assembled a council in order to deliberate on the choice of a general; but no one was inclined to accept the appointment, and it was said to the king, "It will be necessary for thee to leave Madayn and to retire to other provinces of thy realm, such as Khorásán, the province of Fárs, and Kirmán. We shall accompany thee, and abandon Madayn to the Arabs." The thought of leaving Madayn was very painful to Yazdegird; he nevertheless determined to abandon it. Meanwhile Sa'd advanced but slowly as far as Sábát, one day's journey from Madayn, because he was apprehensive of being stopped in his march. At this news Yazdegird fled in all haste, without having time to save his treasures, taking with himself only what he could, and abandoning the rest. The inhabitants of Madayn, the soldiers and the people, men and women, high and low, all equally left the city without thinking of the property which they left behind. Sa'd, being informed of their flight, sent a body of troops in command of Ḳa'ḳa' B. A'mru to pursue the fugitives and to capture Yazdegird; but Ḳa'ḳa' did not succeed in overtaking him, and met only with a small band unable to defend itself, which he cut to pieces, and took possession of all it carried.

* As Caussin de Perceval, to whom I am largely indebted for the preceding portion of this paper, has not treated the subject of the conquest of Persia further, I am almost entirely reduced to the Chronicle of Tabari, which is indeed most valuable, but it would have been useful to consult also other writers. The *Rauẓat-al-çafa* and other works treat on too many subjects; they therefore contain but few details on this most interesting and last episode of the Sásánian empire.

After having despatched Ḳa'ḳa', Sa'd put himself at the head of his army and marched into Madayn, which he found deserted. On perceiving the splendid palaces and gardens he recited the following verse from the Ḳoran:—"How many gardens and fountains, and fields of corn, and fair dwellings, and advantages which they enjoyed, did they leave behind them! Thus [*we dispossessed them thereof*] and we gave the same for an inheritance unto another people. Neither heaven nor earth wept for them." (Surah XLIV. 24 *et seq.*). On proceeding to the Ayován, or royal palace, Sa'd beheld a magnificent structure 120 cubits broad, 300 long, and 100 high; it had been built not of bricks but of polished marble, and twelve columns of the same material, each 100 cubits high, formed the portico. This palace had been constructed by Ḳobád the son of Firúz, and in it the king, seated on a throne of gold, held his audiences of justice.

Sa'd encamped with his army near the palace, on entering which he prostrated himself eight times to the ground, uttered the Salám, reciting at each prostration the Fáteḥa with another Surah, and pronouncing after every two prostrations the confession of faith. Then Sa'd charged A'mru B. Moḳarrin with the keeping and distribution of the booty, all of which when found was to be entrusted to A'mru, who collected the whole of it and distributed it afterwards among all. Then he mounted his horse and returned to the city, where he alighted in the castle of Kesra, and saw apartments, the number of which is known to God alone, filled with gold, silver, garments, precious stones, arms and tapestry. The soldiers dispersed everywhere collecting everything and carrying it to A'mru B. Moḳarrin. Ḳa'ḳa' B. A'mru, who had gone as far as the bridge of Nahrwán, brought back from his expedition enormous plunder, which being united to the above formed an immense quantity of riches. After having deducted one-fifth therefrom, the remainder was distributed among the 60,000 cavalry and infantry which constituted the army, every man receiving 12,000 dirhems for his share; there were moreover many objects sent as homage to O'mar, and a multitude of inestimable value, and several of which no use whatever could be made. According to the *Rauẓat-al-çafa*, cart-loads of camphor also were found, which the Arabs at first mistook for salt.

Ḳa'ḳa' had found at the bridge of Nahrwán, attached to the back of a camel, a box containing a tunic of Kesra embroidered with pearls, among which were also red rubies. It contained likewise other garments of gold tissue, the crown of Kesra, his ring, and six pieces of gold

brocade. All this was sent to O'mar. In the collection of arms a cupboard containing the arms of Kesra garnished with pearls was discovered, as well as his cuirass of gold, his helmet, with leg and arm pieces, all of gold; further six Solomonian coats of mail, with nine costly sabres. In the treasury a horse made entirely of gold, covered with a silver saddle set with precious stones, was found; also a camel of silver with a foal of gold. All these objects were sent to O'mar, as well as a carpet of white brocade, which had likewise been found in the treasury, 300 cubits long by 60 broad, and named *the winter carpet*. The kings of Persia made use of it in the winter season, when there were no longer any flowers or verdure. The whole border was fringed with green emeralds, so that any one sitting on this carpet believed himself to be in a meadow or green field. Precious stones of various colours represented all kinds of odorous herbs and flowers. In the magazine of perfumes were vases of glass containing camphor, ambergris, musk, and other perfumes, which were likewise sent to O'mar over and above the fifth part of the spoils, with a large number of other objects. When all these riches arrived at Medinah, the Khalif had them deposited in the mosque, and the people looked at them with amazement. Then O'mar caused them to be distributed among the Musalmáns in conformity with the regulations fixed by the administration of gifts. A'li received a piece of the great carpet, which he sold for the sum of 8,000 dirhems. People came from all directions, from the east and west, from Egypt and from Yemen, to Medinah, to buy precious stones, gold and silver. The occupation of Madayn took place in the month of Çafar A.H. 16 (March 637).*

CHAPTER XI.—THE TAKING OF JALU'LA' AND OF HOLWA'N.

After his flight from Madayn Yazdegird had retired to Holwán, and Sa'd B. Abu Voḳáç asked O'mar for permission to follow him there. The Khalif replied, "Do not go there thyself, but send [the son of] thy brother Háshem with 12,000 men, and give the command of the vanguard to Ḳa'ḳa' B. A'mru. As for thyself, remain at Madayn, to send them reinforcements in case of need." Sa'd acted in conformity with these orders, and when Háshem arrived at Jalúlá he found the Persians concentrated in one army under the orders of a general named Mihrán. Háshem spent there six months in fighting, till he succeeded in routing them.† The reason of this delay must no doubt have

* Tabari, p. 418.

been the precautions taken for the protection of Jalúlá by the Persian general Mihrán B. Behrám. He surrounded his camp with a large trench and thorny bushes, and these impediments must have been quite sufficient to baffle an opponent in an age in which artillery and gunpowder were unknown, and the war engines which the Musalmáns could use must have been extremely imperfect; they had however one great resource, to which they always resorted in similar cases,—they hemmed their opponents in closely and starved them, until they were either forced to capitulate, or to come out and fight. The latter appears to have been the case in this instance, and, according to the *Rauẕat-al-çafa*, the battle commenced as usual with single combats, which brought on a general fight resulting in the defeat of the Persian army. Tabari states that Mihrán with 100,000 men fell in the plain of Jalúlá; it is however not only very improbable that he had so large an army, but impossible that such a number could perish in a single battle, as such a thing has never happened in any modern engagements, even with the terrible powers used in our times, in comparison with which the arrows and swords of the seventh century must be considered as mere toys. It is also hard to believe that the Musalmáns could have been so bloodthirsty as to murder in cold blood the unfortunate people, to make up that large number. The booty obtained in this town was immense, so that, after deducting one-fifth part of it to send to Medinah, every soldier received 10,000 dirhems for his share. This victory was gained in Ẕulḳa'dah A.H. 16 (Nov.–Dec. 637).

At the news of the defeat of his army and the death of Mihrán, Yazdegird left Holwán and proceeded in the direction of Rey, leaving in the former place a body of troops under general Khorzád,* ordering him to give the Arabs as much occupation as he could about Holwán in order to keep them off from himself. Sa'd being informed of the departure of Yazdegird by Háshem ordered the latter to remain in the place where he was, and to despatch Ḳa'ḳa' with a moiety of his troops against Holwán. Khorzád marched against Ḳa'ḳa' as far as the place named Kaçr Shirin, "the castle of Shirin," situated one parasang from Holwán, on the banks of a river near which there were large trees, where Khorzád pitched his camp. There the two armies met; the Persians were defeated, but Khorzád escaped and joined Yazdegird. Ḳa'ḳa' entered Holwán and wrote the following letter to Háshem:—"Ask Sa'd to authorize me to pursue Yazdegird beyond Holwán before he

* Always Khosurusum in Tabari, with a sign of interrogation by Zotenberg.

arrives at Rey and is able to collect an army." Sa'd informed O'mar of the taking of Holwán, and asked him for permission to send troops towards Hamadán and Rey. But O'mar refused, and replied, "Holwán is at the extremity of the E'ráḳ; accordingly you are now in possession of the whole of the Sawád and the E'ráḳ. That will do for this year. The safety of the Musalmáns is preferable to great spoils." From this letter, as well as from several others inserted before, it appears that O'mar was better acquainted with the difficulties and dangers to be surmounted in subjugating gradually and then retaining the vast dominions of Persia than his generals, who were always anxious to gain victories, to make spoils, and to proceed further, without considering what might happen in their rear. This undue ardour he often wisely cooled by interdicting further movements,—not impeding, however, raids and small expeditions near to the chief camps. In this manner Musalmán supremacy was now maintained permanently in the conquered districts of E'rák, which had on a former occasion been lost;* this supremacy was still more confirmed by the retirement and concentration of the Persian troops at more distant points, which now abandoned to the Arabs the districts they had already occupied, and endeavoured to prevent their penetrating further into the country. These defensive measures enabled the Arabs to strengthen their footing everywhere, gave them time to raise fresh levies, and to pour them into the country.

In the above-quoted letter of O'mar he had merely prohibited further progress into the Persian dominions, and although the towns of Másebedán and Shirván, belonging to the territory of the Kohestán, were both situated in the vicinity of Holwán, Sa'd nevertheless considered it proper first to obtain permission from O'mar to take them, inasmuch as Másebedán was defended only by a small body of Persian troops. O'mar ordered Sa'd to despatch Ẓerár B. Khattáb to take both towns; the latter accordingly left Madayn and proceeded to Másebedán. The Persian general collected all the troops he had at Másebedán and at Shirwán, and marched to meet the Musalmán army. The battle raged so fiercely that it lasted three days. Ẓerár defeated the Persians, killed many of them and made numerous prisoners. Másebedán and Shirwán surrendered to the Musalmáns. From that time Islám prevailed all over the E'ráḳ, from the heights of Holwán as far as Moçul and Syria. This was at the end of A.H. 16 (December 637–January 638).

* See Chapter III.

CHAPTER XII.—THE MUSALMA'NS BUILD KUFAH, AND HOSTILITIES CEASE FOR ONE FULL YEAR.

We have seen in the beginning of Chapter IX. that Sa'd B. Abu Voḳáç had already begun to lay the foundations of the town of Kufah A.H. 15, after the victory at Ḳádesyah. Then he had merely erected reed huts and traced the outline of the town, and was soon called away.* Now however, two years after that event, he again returned to the place, in order to rest his troops, by order of the Khalif. He left Madayn and brought from the Sawád all persons, whether Musalmáns or not, who possessed some knowledge of architecture. He likewise summoned the governors of various towns, who appointed lieutenants to take their places, to Kufah, and assigned to them plots of ground to build upon. O'mar addressed to Sa'd a letter in which he said, "Build according to just proportions, that your fortune may be durable." By expressing himself in this manner O'mar meant to say that they were to erect houses which should be neither too small nor too large. Accordingly everybody commenced to build; but Sa'd caused a splendid palace to be built for himself, on the model of the white palace he had seen at Madayn, the gate of which he had from the latter place caused to be brought to Kufah and to be placed in his own palace. The other people imitated him, carried off the doors from the houses at Madayn, and used them in their houses at Kufah.

When O'mar learnt that Sa'd B. Abu Voḳáç had caused such a palace to be built for himself, he was highly displeased, and calling for Muḥammad B. Maslama, spoke to him as follows:—"Betake thyself to Kufah, procure wood, get it carried to the palace of Sa'd, and burn the whole palace. After having done this, place this letter on my part into the hands of Sa'd without telling him one word, and return." It was announced to Sa'd that a messenger from O'mar had arrived, but that his mission was unknown. Muḥammad B. Maslama, having arrived near the palace, ordered a large quantity of wood to be brought and to be set on fire. Sa'd sent a person to summon Muḥammad into his presence, in order to ascertain the object of his mission. Muḥammad appeared before Sa'd and said to him:—"Come and see thyself the object of my mission." Sa'd arose and went out. After having set the palace in flames Muḥammad handed to Sa'd the letter of O'mar without saying one word more, and departed. Sa'd opened the letter, the contents of which were as follows:—"I have learnt that

* See beginning of Ch. X.

thou hast built for thyself a palace like the palace of Kesra, the gate of which thou hast taken away and fixed to thy own. It is probably thy intention to place doorkeepers and guards at this gate, to keep off or to refuse to listen to those who may have a request to make. Thou meanest then to follow the aberrations of Kesra by abandoning the injunctions of the prophet? Kesra was however carried from his palace to the tomb, whilst the prophet was conveyed from the tomb to a phlace. Now I have sent some one to burn thy palace; he will not fear thee. One single modest house is to suffice thee in this world in which to live, and another in which to deposit and to guard the public treasure. Then thou wilt go from thy house to a palace, like the prophet, and not from a palace into the tomb, like Kesra." Sa'd then intended to give provisions for his journey to Muḥammad B. Maslama, but he refused them. Afterwards Sa'd occupied a habitation composed of two buildings, in one of which he dwelt, and the other he used as a treasury. The palace was in ruins till the reign of Moa'vyah B. Abu Sofyán; it was however repaired by Zya'd, whom Moa'vyah had appointed governor of this province, and became after him the royal residence.

During the whole of A.H. 17 (A. D. 638) the building of Kufah was carried on, and there was no campaign in the E'ráḳ.*

Chapter XIII.—Conquest of some Towns of the Ahwa'z, Expedition from Bahrain, and Capture of Hormuza'n, from A.H. 18 (639-640) till A.H. 21 (Dec. 640 till Oct. 31, 641).

Hormuzán being of royal blood and enjoying great authority was king of the Ahwáz; the government of this province, which contained seventy towns, was hereditary in his family, and he as well as his ancestors had the right of wearing a crown. This right was enjoyed by seven families in Persia, who were by their origin the equals of the king of Persia, only their crowns were somewhat smaller than those of the sovereign. Hormuzán, who had at the demand of Yazdegird taken part with a numerous army in the battle of Ḳádesyah under the orders of Rustum, returned after the defeat to the Ahwáz, and continued to govern that province, the limits whereof were contiguous to the territory of Boçrah, into which Hormuzán made incursions and slew many Musalmáns. O'tbah B. Ghazván, the governor of Boçrah, informed O'mar of this fact, and the latter wrote to Sa'd B. Abu Voḳáç to send reinforcements to O'tbah. Accordingly Sa'd despatched 5,000

* Tabari, III. 425.

men under the command of Noa'im B. Mokarrin and of A'bdullah B. Masu'd; O'tbah on his part likewise detached a body of troops from the army of Boçrah commanded by Salmán B. Al-Káim, and another by Harmalah B. Martabah. After these two armies had joined each other, they established their camp at Dost Maysán, whence they marched into the Ahwáz, Hormuzan being at that time in a town called Tera.

The province of Ahwáz was surrounded by the Arab tribe Kulayb B. Wáil, with whom Hormuzán had some disputes about certain territories and villages; on this occasion, however, he was very anxious that they should co-operate with him against the Musalmáns, but they refused, and promised their aid to the latter, whom they invited to offer battle on a certain day, when they would fight on their side. Hormuzán being informed of the approach of the Arabs reviewed his army, and made arrangements for a battle. On the day fixed, the Musalmán army divided itself into two bodies, and the troops of Kufah attacked the flanks of the enemy, who was already beginning to get weakened, when the army of Boçrah arrived, and after still resisting for a while took to flight, when also the Kulayb B. Wáil made their appearance on the battle-field. Then Hormuzán retreated to Súk-al-Ahwáz, the capital of his province, situated on the two banks of the little Tigris, Dujayl, and well fortified; but Hormuzán fortified also the bridge which connected the two banks.

Afterwards O'tbah despatched Horkuç with reinforcements against Hormuzán, who coming out from Súk-al-Ahwáz challenged the Musalmáns to fight, but they sent him the following message, "Cross the river and come to us, or we shall cross it and go to thee." Hormuzán replied, "It is for you to cross the river." Accordingly Horkuç, whom O'tbah had appointed commander-in-chief of all the Musalmán troops, crossed the Dujayl, and a battle took plaçe, which was the most sanguinary that had been fought at Boçrah and in the Ahwáz. Hormuzán was put to flight, and many of his soldiers were killed by the Musalmáns; and he retreated to another town of the Ahwáz called Rám-Hormuz, where he fortified himself. Horkuç then took possession of Súk-al-Ahwáz, and sent immediately an officer who had come from Medinah named Hurr B. Moa'vyah, in pursuit of Hormuzán. O'mar on his part also despatched orders to Sa'd to expedite new forces from Kufah towards the same destination. Seeing that Musalmán armies were arriving from all sides to attack him, Hormuzán made proposals of peace to Hurr and to Horkuç, demanding

that he should be left in possession of the Ahwáz. When Horkuç demanded instructions from O'mar, he replied, "Make peace with him, stipulating that you will retain the towns you now possess, and he those which he still possesses." Peace was concluded on these terms. Hormuzán remained at Rám-Hormuz, and Horkuç at Súk-al-Ahwáz.

The towns situated beyond the Ahwáz in the province of Fárs were still in the power of the Persians and of Yazdegird, who resided at Rey. After having obtained possession of a part of the Ahwáz, Horkuç addressed a letter to O'mar, and asked permission to undertake an expedition into the province of Fárs. O'mar replied, "Do not attack this province. Be contented with the Ahwáz. The army is not to be too distant from me, in countries where it could not communicate with me, and where I could not send reinforcements. Fix the limits of the Musalmán empire on the side of Boçrah at Ahwáz, and on the side of the E'rák at Holwán." It appears from this letter that after fighting for ten years, and conquering during all that time only the E'rák with a portion of the Ahwáz, the Musalmáns had—in spite of the distracted state of Persia and the rapid succession of feeble sovereigns, which ceased only with the ascension to the throne of a youth not more than twenty years old, whose armies they had likewise been defeating during several years—not yet become powerful enough to invade Persia proper, which was however entered by the ill-concerted expedition from Bahrain, to extricate which the army of Boçrah was compelled to enter Fárs, as will now be narrated:—

O'mar had an agent in Bahrain whose name was A'lá B. Al-Hazrami, who had been appointed to that post by the prophet himself, and maintained in it by Abu Bekr. To this man O'mar had written a letter just before the battle of Kádesyah, and had ordered him to join Sa'd B. Abu Vokáç; but A'lá begged to be excused from this campaign, as he was unwilling to serve under Sa'd. O'mar agreed and left him in Bahrain; when however A'lá heard how many victories Sa'd had gained, and how many conquests he had made as far as Holwán, and that the army of Boçrah had penetrated as far as the Ahwáz, he also became desirous of undertaking an expedition and of gaining triumphs. Accordingly, without asking the Khalif for authorization, he embarked with the army of Bahrain, crossed the sea intervening between it and Fárs, and made his appearance under the walls of a town named Eçtakhar. O'mar never allowed any expeditions across the sea; he feared that the

army might incur dangers, and alleged that neither the prophet nor Abu Bekr had ordered any expeditions to be undertaken by sea. Accordingly he was much displeased when he heard that A'lá had embarked.

The prince who governed the province of Fárs as a vassal of Yazdegird was named Sháhrokh,* and had under his orders the governor of Eçtakhar whose name was Môbed.† When the latter heard of the approach of A'lá he collected an army and marched against him. In the engagement which took place many fell on the side of the Musalmáns as well as on that of the Persians. Then the governor asked for reinforcements from Sháhrokh, who was at Shiráz, the usual residence of the governor of the province of Fárs. Sháhrokh made an appeal to the whole province and assembled a large army. A'lá B. Al-Ḥaẓrami, who perceived that he could not resist all these forces, retraced his steps. When he arrived on the sea-shore, he desired to embark in his ships, but they could not be found. The Musalmáns were greatly embarrassed, and tried to march to Boçrah by the way of the Ahwáz, but Sháhrokh, being informed of their intention, cut off their route. Therefore they remained, to the number of 5000 men, without being able to retreat either from the direction of Eçtakhar, nor from the sea, nor towards the Ahwáz.

When O'mar was informed of their position, he sent the following letter to O'tbah B. Ghazwán:—"A'lá B. Al-Ḥaẓrami has, without any orders of mine, led the army of Baḥrain into the province of Fárs, where he is blocked up by the enemy. Send a body of troops from Boçrah by way of the Ahwáz, to endeavour to disengage the Musálman soldiers in such a manner from the enemy as to insure their retreat, even at the risk of, for the present, abandoning the conquest of the province of Fárs." Then he wrote to A'lá in these terms:—" God has appointed sovereigns to be obeyed. Whatever is done besides their orders turns out bad. Thou hast on thy own responsibility caused the army to leave Baḥrain and hast thrown it into the midst of enemies. I have now recommended to the army of Boçrah to go to your assistance, in order to try to disengage the Musalmáns. As to thyself, thou art not to return to the Baḥrain. Thou wilt betake thyself to Sa'd B. Abu Voḳáç; and if I knew a thing in the world more disagreeable to thee than to serve under the command of Sa'd I would impose it on thee."

* Shcherck, as spelt by some authors.

† Tabari appears to have been ignorant of his real name, and therefore used this one, which designates a class and not an individual: Tabari, III., p. 453.

After perusing the letter of the Khalif, O'tbah B. Ghazwán sent 5000 men of the army of Boçrah by the route of the Ahwáz into the province of Fárs. When these troops arrived near the camp of Sháhrokh, at Táwaz,* a place situated on the confines of the Ahwáz and of the province of Fárs, they attacked the enemy and compelled him to retire. Then A'lá, who had left the sea-shore, joined the Musalmáns, and Abu-Sabra B. Abu Ruhm, who commanded the expedition, handed him the letter of the Khalif. Thereupon both corps returned to Boçrah, where O'tbah dissolved the army of the Bahrain, which was composed of various Arab tribes from the Hejr, ordering every man to rejoin his own tribe, and sent A'lá to Sa'd. O'tbah remained at Boçrah, and Hormuzán in the Ahwáz.

The news of the events that had taken place in the Ahwâz, and in the province of Fárs which had been invaded by the army from the Bahrain and again abandoned by it, having reached the ears of Yazdegird, he addressed from Rey a letter to the people of Fárs to the following purport:—"You have cared so little for your religion, and you have allowed the Arabs to gain so many advantages, that they have, after conquering the E'rák, the Sawád, Madayn our country and our capital, also attacked the Ahwáz; neither have you given assistance to Hormuzán, so that he has been compelled to abandon to them one-half of that province. They have after that invaded the province of Fárs, your own country, and you were not moved; they were enabled to effect their retreat sound and safe. Unite now your efforts to those of Hormuzán, that he may defend Ahwáz. Send him troops, that he may begin the war again, and regain the portion of his country which he has lost." Yazdegird wrote also to Hormuzán, and announced to him that he had recommended to Sháhrokh and to the inhabitants of Fárs to render him assistance. The latter indeed informed Hormuzán that they would come to his aid, and thus encouraged him for the coming struggle.

O'mar, having been informed that Hormuzán had obtained the concurrence of the army of the province of Fárs, and that he had broken the peace, sent orders to Abu Músa Al-Asha'ri to despatch a body of troops from Boçrah against Hormuzán, under the command of Abu Sabra, in order to conquer the whole Ahwáz, and to expel Hormuzán from it, so as to deprive the army of the province of Fárs for ever of an opportunity to attack the Musalmáns on the score of

* To be mentioned again in the beginning of Ch. XVIII.

aiding Hormuzán. Abu Músa sent a detachment of troops from Boçrah. The Khalif addressed a letter to Sa'd B. Abu Vokáç and ordered him to send from the E'rák into the Ahwáz troops which were to join the army of Boçrah in order to wage war against Hormuzán. Sa'd despatched a body of troops from Kufah, in command of No'mán B. Mokarrin. Lastly, in a letter addressed to Abu Sabra, O'mar appointed that officer to be the commander-in-chief of the united armies of Kufah and Boçrah, and confided to him the direction of the war in the Ahwáz.

Abu Sabra, having penetrated into the Ahwáz, encamped under the walls of Rám-Hormuz. Hormuzán asked for reinforcements from Sháhrokh, who sent him a body of troops, and who went himself to occupy the town of Tuster, which was better fortified than Rám-Hormuz. Nevertheless when Hormuzán perceived that the Musalmán army was very numerous, he left the fortress of Rám-Hormuz, and likewise betook himself to Tuster, thus effecting his junction with the army of the province of Fárs. Hereupon Abu Sabra took possession of Rám-Hormuz, left a small garrison there, and proceeded towards Tuster. He wrote to O'mar that the enemy had obtained reinforcements, and likewise demanded fresh troops. O'mar instructed Abu Músa Al-Asha'ri to march in person with the whole army of Boçrah to the assistance of Abu Sabra; accordingly Abu Músa joined the army of Abu Sabra again (the latter retaining the supreme command), and took up his position under the walls of Tuster. The Musalmáns besieged this town for six months in vain, but at last entered it by an underground canal through which water was conveyed into the town, within which, however, there was also a citadel, where Hormuzán shut himself up, but was at last forced to capitulate, and was taken to Medinah, where he became a Musalmán.

Chapter XIV.—The Taking of Neha'vend.

Yazdegird, who had been at Rey for some time, but was aware that the Musalmáns would again renew hostilities, did his best to collect a numerous army, and to concentrate it at Nehávend under the command of Firuzán, who is likewise nicknamed by Tabari 'Ẓulḥájeb,' 'endued with eyebrows,' just like Bahman, who was also a Persian general, and had seven years before fought at the Battle of the Bridge. Information concerning the preparations of the Persians was immediately sent to O'mar by A'bdullah Ebn I'tbán (the successor of Sa'd B. Abu Vokáç after his recall from Kufah), who wrote to him that they had concentrated at Nehávend larger forces than they had ever raised

before. "In a short while," continued he in his letter, "this army will become still more numerous, will march forward, will take Ḥolwán, and will descend into the E'ráḳ, so that the Musalmáns will have to make great efforts to conquer it. Therefore the Musalmáns ought to forestall it by crossing the heights of Ḥolwán and carrying the war into the Kohestán, far from the boundaries of the E'ráḳ."

O'mar, being greatly distressed by the perusal of this letter, convoked the Musalmáns, and communicated its contents to them in the mosque, where he declared also his intention to march in person to Persia at the head of an army, but was dissuaded, and various opinions were broached about appointing a suitable general to lead it. In this perplexity O'mar resorted to his usual habit of consulting A'bbás B. A'bd-Al-Muṭalleb, who replied as follows:—"Thou must remain here, and send an army." This advice coincided with the inclination of O'mar, who again asked, "Now tell me who is to be placed at the head of this army?" A'bbas replied, "Commander of the Faithful! thou art better acquainted with the army of the E'ráḳ than anybody else, and thou wilt be able to find the man needed." O'mar said, "I am inclined to select No'mán B. Moḳarrin." "He is the man required," replied A'bbás.

O'mar called out the army of Medinah and made it encamp without the town. Then he wrote a letter to No'mán B. Moḳarrin, who was in the Ahwáz, and ordered him to march to Nehávend. He also wrote, "I shall order Músa Al-Asha'ri to send thee all the troops of the Boçrah army he will be able to dispense with, and I appoint thee commander-in-chief of the whole army." Then he despatched his own son A'bdullah at the head of the army of Medinah, which was composed of 5,000 Moliájers and Ançars. When this army left Medinah, O'mar sent orders to Abu Músa Al-Asha'ri to retain with him only one-third of the troops of Boçrah and of the Ahwaz, and to abandon the other two-thirds to No'mán for the expedition to Nehávend. The same order was communicated also to A'bdullah B. I'tbán, who was to furnish No'mán with the two-thirds of the forces of the E'ráḳ and of Kufah. When No'mán arrived from the Ahwáz at Boçrah, Abu Músa put 10,000 men under his command. At Kufah he received from A'bdullah a corps of 5,000 men, composed of companions of the prophet, Arab chiefs, and celebrated warriors such as Ḥozaifah B. Al-Yamán, Jarir B. A'bdullah Al-Bajali, A'mru B. Madi Karib, Ṭolaiḥah B. Khovailad, and others.

After the arrival of A'bdullah the son of O'mar with his 5,000 men from Medinah, No'mán put his army, which now consisted of 20,000 men, in motion, and marched through the Sawád towards Ḥolwán, where he was joined by other soldiers, either Arabs or tributaries, to the amount of 10,000, who flocked to his banners. Finding no enemies at Ḥolwán, No'mán crossed the mountains and arrived at Merj, whence he went to Túr.

The Persians at Nehávend had strengthened their position by ditches and ramparts, and in those days, when fortifications played an immensely higher part in the art of war than at present, they proved a considerable obstacle to the Musalmáns, who had ascertained that the Persians would not attack them, and had therefore crossed the distance of 25 parasangs intervening between Túr and Nehávend, and had encamped before it. They were unable to cross the palisades, and remained inactive in front of the town for two months. As No'mán B. Moḳarrin continued in his position before the gates of Nehávend, Firuzán sent him the message, "Send us a man that we may come to an understanding with him." No'mán selected Moghirah B. Sho'bah, who crossed the palisades and entered the town. A tent of gold brocade had been prepared for the meeting. Firuzán was seated on the throne with a golden crown on his head, whilst soldiers armed with lances and sabres stood by, and formed two lines, between which Moghirah advanced with his eyes fixed to the ground. When he arrived before the throne of Firuzán he stopped without lifting them. Then the soldiers touched him with the hilts of their swords and said, "At least lift up thy eyes towards the prince, who is looking at thee!" Moghirah, who had lost an eye in the war, replied, "I have not come as an enemy; I am an envoy, who is not to be treated as you treat me at this moment, and I enjoy higher consideration among my people than this prince among yourselves." When the interpreter translated these words to Firuzán, he said, "He is right, do not act towards him unsuitably." Then he told Moghirah to sit down, and the latter obeyed. Firuzán said, "You Arabs are the most wretched and famishing people of the world. It would be easy for me to annihilate you all at once, because I have in my army a number of archers equal to the whole number of your warriors. But I do not want your corpses to pollute the gates of my town. If you depart, so much the better for you; but if you desire to lose your lives you have only to remain." Moghirah replied in the following terms:—"We have

indeed been such as thou sayest, wretched and poor; but God has sent us a prophet, has led us to the religion, has taken away from us ill luck, and has imposed it on you. Now we have come to throw our poverty on you and to take away your possessions." After uttering these words Moghirah rose and went away. Firuzán said to the Persians, "This Arab is right; they acted as he has said." These kinds of stereotyped dialogues between Persian princes and Arab envoys Tabari gives in several places; the former always reproach the latter with their wretched condition, which they acknowledge, and plead for their religion. The best occurred in Chapter VII. between Yazdegird and the Arab deputation, but to give them all *in extenso* would be a mere waste of time.

The Arabs were, in spite of their large numbers, unwilling to attack the fortifications, and constantly challenged the Persians to come out and have a free fight in the open plain; it is not certain whether these taunts or the want of provisions induced the Persians to leave their fortified camp to attack them, but it is certain that they did so. Tabari relates that the Musalmáns spread false rumours that the Khalif O'mar had died, that they intended to return to their country, and they actually marched away. Hereupon the Persians issued from their retrenchments and pursued them. When No'mán had departed, and purposely left in his camp all kinds of articles which were not indispensable, such as garments, utensils, and animals, the Persians entertained no doubts that the Musalmáns had fled, and marched after him. The battle took place between Nehávend and Hamadán, but was soon decided by the flight of the Persians and the death of their general, Firuzán.*

This battle was called "the victory of victories"; according to the Rauẓat-al-çafa 80,000, and according to Tabari 100,000 Persians lost their lives in it, and it is said that after this time the Persians never mustered in such large numbers. Hoẓaifah B. Al-Yamán had all the booty collected near Sayb B. Al-Ḳra', who had been delegated by the Khalif to preside over its distribution. After having put aside the fifth part, Sayb divided the rest among the troops. The share of each man in the cavalry amounted to 6,000, and in the infantry to 2,000 dirhems. Next day a Persian, one of those who guarded the fire-temples, and who was an aged man, came to Hoẓaifah and said, "Grant me my life, and the lives of those whom I shall point out; and

* Tabari, III. 475.

I shall deliver to thee the treasure of Kesra." Having received from Ḥoẕaifah a promise of protection, he went away, and bringing with him a casket sealed with the seal of Kesra he said, "When Yazdegird, in his journey to Rey, passed through this place, his treasurer Nakhirján confided this casket to me with the information that Kesra intended to reserve it in case misfortunes should befall him." When Ḥoẕaifah opened the casket, he found it full of rubies and other precious stones, red, white, green, of all colours and of inestimable value. It was sent to O'mar to be deposited in the public treasury.

Ḥoẕaifah had been informed that the fugitive Persian troops had again rallied at Hamadán. He sent Ḳa'ḳa' B. A'mru to disperse them. At Hamadán there was a Dehḳán named Dinár, who governed the provinces of Hamadán and of Rey. This Dehḳán came to Ḳa'ḳa' and said, "Take me to thy chief, I wish to negotiate with him." When he arrived in the presence of Ḥoẕaifah he concluded peace for Hamadán, and a treaty was written, so that the latter place was occupied by mutual agreement, whilst Nehávend was taken by force of arms.

The Musalmán army was partly composed of troops of Kufah, and partly of troops of Boçrah. Ḥoẕaifah, waiting for orders from O'mar to march or to return, dwelt after his victory at Nehávend, which being too small a town to contain the whole Musalmán army, Ḥoẕaifah divided it into two corps, the troops of Boçrah being quartered in Nehávend, and those of Kufah in a town called Dinwer, situated in the vicinity of Nehávend. These two towns were afterwards called "Máh-Boçrah" and "Máh-Kufah," both together being designated by the word "Mahayn." In the Pehlevi language the word *máh* signifies a province and kingdom.*

At the news of these events Yazdegird lost all hope of reconquering his realm. He left Rey and went into the Kohestán.

Chapter XV.—Occupation of Espaha'n and of several other towns.

O'mar had, with his usual cautiousness, issued orders to the army of the E'ráḳ not to pass beyond the heights of Ḥolwán, and to that of Boçrah not to march beyond the Ahwáz, for fear that the Musalmáns might not be able to keep in subjection any more countries, inasmuch as Yazdegird was not resting in peace, but levying new

* Tabari, III., p. 480.

troops every year and rekindling the war. Accordingly O'mar deliberated with the Musalmáns on what was to be done, and was advised to send an army against Espaháu, against the province of Fárs and the Kirmán, in order to deprive Yazdegird of these countries, so that being reduced to the possession of Khorásán he might be compelled to give up these provinces. Hormuzán, the Persian apostate,* was also consulted by O'mar, and coincided with the above opinion, saying, "It will first be necessary to march on Espahán, which is as it were the head of the kingdom of Persia, whilst Fárs and Kirmán are its two hands, but Aderbiján and Rey its two feet. A body whose feet and hands are cut off, but whose head is still left, yet lives; whereas if its head is cut off it is completely exterminated."†

O'mar gave the government of Kufah, of the E'ráḳ, and the command of the army to A'mmár B. Yáser and sent him to the E'ráḳ. Then he gave four banners to four generals, whom he sent to Persia at the head of various corps of troops. One of these generals was Noa'im B. Moḳarrin, brother of No'mán. He was ordered to betake himself to Hamadán, the inhabitants of which had broken the peace they had concluded with Ḥoẓaifah. After having reduced this town he was to have marched towards Khorásán, in pursuit of Yazdegird. Noa'im departed and took possession of Hamadán. It happened to him on the route that the horses of his troop were stolen in a place named Kenkiber, where he had halted; therefore the place was henceforth nick-named "the castle of thieves." The second general who received a banner from the hands of O'mar was O'tbah B. Farḳad; and the third Boḳayr B. A'bdullah. Both were to march towards the Aderbiján, the one on the right by the way of Ḥolwán, and the other by the route of Moçul. The fourth banner was given to A'bdullah B. A'bdullah B. I'tbán, with orders to march on Espahán. A'bdullah had been one of the companions of the prophet, and O'mar relieved Abu Musa Al-Asha'ri of the government of Boçrah in order to aid him. Lastly O'mar addressed a letter to Ziyád B. Ḥanẓalah and ordered him also to march with A'bdullah B. I'tbán towards Espahán. He was first to betake himself from Kufah to Madayn, to take there all the troops he needed, then to go to Nehávend and to pick out all the soldiers he wanted from the army of Ḥoẓaifah. Ziyád collected a corps of 10,000 men.

* See Ch. XIII. † Tabari, III., p. 481.

A'bdullah left the E'rák and came first to Nehávend. Thence he marched towards Espahán, which is seven days' march from Nehávend, and was at that time governed by a Persian named Páduspán, with a numerous army under his command, and augmented by a great many fugitives from Nehávend. This governor had for his general-in-chief an aged magnate of Persia named Shehrabráz, who had waged many wars and acquired much experience. Being informed of the position of affairs after the battle of Nehávend, Páduspán sent forth Shehrabráz at the head of a considerable body of troops, who encountered the Musalmán army near a borough depending from Espahán and situated on the route to Nehávend, and a battle ensued, in which the Persians were put to flight after a hard struggle, and their old general lost his life. Thereon the Dehkán of the borough came to A'bdullah, surrendered it, and made peace with him This was the first engagement and the first success of the Musalmáns on the territory of Espahán.

After that A'bdullah continued his route and arrived under the walls of Espahán. Having marched out to fight the Musalmáns, and drawn out his army in battle array, Páduspán, who was a famous warrior, came out in front of his lines, called A'bdullah, and said to him, "Why so much bloodshed? I have heard that thou art a celebrated hero; come let us measure ourselves in single combat. If thou killest me, Espahán is thine; and if thou art slain by my hand, I shall be the master of thy army." A'bdullah consented, and both placed themselves in a position to fight. One stroke of Páduspán's lance broke the girth of A'bdullah's saddle, which glided to the tail of his horse, but he leaped again on the back of his horse without letting go the bridle, and prepared to assail his antagonist by brandishing his lance. Páduspán then said, "Remain there, I perceive that thou art a brave warrior. I shall do anything thou wantest" A'bdullah replied, "I want thee to embrace Islám or to pay tribute." "I consent to pay tribute," said Páduspán, "and I surrender myself on condition of being allowed to quit the town and to go wherever I please." A'bdullah granted his request, and peace was concluded. Then A'bdullah established his camp under the walls of Espahán.* On this occasion many people left the city and emigrated with their families to the province of Kirmán, and a tribute was imposed on those who remained.

It has been mentioned already in the beginning of this chapter that Noa'im B. Mokarrin took Hamadán because the inhabitants had broken

* Tabari, III., p. 484.

the peace they had concluded with the Musalmáns and had fortified the town. When Noa'im arrived, the Persian general Khsharashnúm (?) had received assistance from the people of the Aderbiján, and the inhabitants of that province had arrived in great numbers. O'mar became so uneasy at this news that he immediately wrote a letter to Ḥozaifah B. Al-Yamán, who was at Nehávend, and ordered him to send all his troops to Hamadán, in order to succour Noa'im. Khsharashnúm came out from the fortress and marched against Noa'im, who was encamped in a district of the plain named Waj-i-rúd. A sanguinary battle ensued which lasted three days. The Persian general was killed and his routed troops were cut to pieces by the Musalmáns. Noa'im occupied the town of Hamadán, and sent troops in pursuit of the Persians, who fled in the direction of Rey, where a prince named Siáwukhsh, grandson of Behrám Chúbín, was governing in the name of Yazdegird, and was in command of a large army given him by the latter when departing from Rey. A distance of six days' march separates Hamadán from Rey, but the pursuing Musalmán troops proceeded only three and then retraced their steps; and Noa'im, who despatched the booty gained at Hamadán to O'mar, informed him in a letter that a great concentration of troops had taken place at Rey under the command of Behrám Chúbín's grandson. When O'mar gave to the messengers leave to depart, he handed them a letter for Noa'im containing the following instructions:—"Establish a governor at Hamadán, selecting any one thou choosest. Despatch Simáḳ B. Kharasha with a small detachment to Aderbiján to aid Boḳayr B. A'bdullah, and march thyself to Rey. Hinder the Persians from rallying in any place." The taking of Hamadán and of Rey, which will now be narrated, took place A.H. 22 (between Dec. 642 and Oct. 643).*

Now the Musalmáns had obtained so strong a footing that some Persian magnates considered it good policy to ensure the safety of their own possessions by abetting them openly, and cases of treachery to their country and sovereign become more frequent than hitherto. Siáwukhsh, the governor of Rey, made the best preparations he could to resist the further progress of the Musalmáns, by sending messages to the provinces adjoining Rey, and wherever troops existed, to Gorgán, to Táberistán, to Demávend, to Kaum, and into the Káren mountain, and all the princes responded to his appeal by sending him forces, so that

* Tabari, III., p. 489.

he collected a numerous army. This army contained, however, a magnate of Persia and Dehḳán of Rey named Zinbi, the father of Ferrukhán, who was afterwards appointed Marzbán or satrap of the town. Zinbi was at variance with Siáwukhsh on account of some estates at Rey, of which the descendants of Behrám Chúbín were in possession of a large share. This enmity, in addition to the anxiety of ensuring his own safety, impelled Zinbi to wait with his whole family on Noa'im, who was already near, and had pitched his camp at a distance of one parasang from Rey. Being admitted to the presence of Noa'im, Zinbi addressed him as follows:—"The garrison of Rey is numerous, and thou canst triumph over it only by a stratagem." "What is to be done?" asked Noa'im. Zinbi replied, "Give me two thousand men to penetrate into the town from the opposite side at the moment thou attackest the place; this diversion will bring confusion into the ranks, they will rush to the city, and thou wilt conquer them." Noa'im put 2,000 men under the command of his nephew Muẓin B. A'mru at his disposal, and Zinbi led them during the night round the town to the road of Khorásán.

The next morning Siáwukhsh came out from Rey and offered battle to Noa'im, and as soon as it had commenced, Zinbi brought the Musalmán corps by the Tabarak mountain through the Khorásán-gate into the town. On this the Persian troops, apprehensive of the fate of their families, left the battle-field in groups and ran into the town; so that Siáwukhsh, being completely abandoned, took to flight. Noa'im and the Musalmáns in front and in the rear massacred the Persians, and blood flowed in the town like a rivulet. Those Persians who were strangers in Rey and had succeeded in escaping took the road to their provinces, whilst the soldiers of Rey itself fled to Ḳaum and to Dámeghán. After taking the town, Noa'im had it pillaged, and obtained immense booty. Zinbi, with all the members of his family, was not only spared, but appointed by Noa'im Marzbán of Rey, and concluded peace with him. Zinbi had two sons, one of whom was called Ferrukhán and the other Shehryár. They all retained the religion of Persia. After that, Noa'im demolished the old part of the town, which remained in ruins ever afterwards.

At Demávend there was a powerful Dehḳán named Merdánsháh, who, when he had learnt that the Persians had been defeated at Rey and that their position was desperate, sent a messenger to Noa'im to ask for peace, and declared himself ready to pay tribute. Noa'im granted him peace and recalled his troops from Demávend.

The fugitive Persian troops had again rallied at Kaum, but without any general, as Siáwukhsh had lost his life in the battle of Rey. This fact was duly reported by Noa'im, when he sent off the booty last gained, to O'mar, whose reply was as follows:— "As there is no general at Kaum around whom the army might form itself, there is no need of making great efforts to fight the Persians who are there. Remain at Rey, but send thy brother Sowayd B. Mokarrin to occupy Kaum, and to pursue the Persians as far as he shall be able." When Sowayd arrived at Kaum the Persian troops dispersed, and as there was no fortified town he met with no resistance; he also occupied Dámeghán without striking a blow, but he immediately left it to march after the Persians, who had retired to Gorgán and Táberistán. He arrived at Bastám, a town in the district of Kaum on the side of Gorgán, and pitched his camp there.

Chapter XVI.—Conquest of Gorga'n, Ta'berista'n, Aderbija'n, and Derbend.

The Dailemite prince who reigned in Gorgán and Dehistán was a professor of the Persian religion and called *Marzbán;* he was obeyed by the princes of Táberistán, each town of it being governed by one of them who bore the title of *Sephabud*,* but they were also subject to the *Sephabud of Sephabuds*. When Sowayd marched from Bastám to Gorgán, the Marzbán of it came to meet him, to a distance of one day's march, embraced Islám,† and made the following proposals of peace:—"He would pay the ordinary land-tax for Gorgán, and those of the inhabitants not adopting the Musalmán religion would pay the capitation-tax." He added that "on learning this agreement the Sephabuds of Táberistán would likewise prefer peace to war. If however it should be necessary to use arms, he would be the first to march with the army of Gorgán, and would fight till he became master of the province." Sowayd accepted these conditions and concluded peace with him, and marching to Gorgán established his camp near the town, where the Marzbán proclaimed that all who intended to make a profession of Islám should come out, and that the rest would have to pay the capitation-tax.

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* Composed of *Sephah*, troops, and *Bud*, master.

† Tabari, III. 492. These sudden professions of Islám are not impossible, only somewhat surprising, but occur more frequently the more firm the Musalmán power becomes.

When the Sephabuds of Táberistán were informed of these facts, they went to their chief, the Sephabud of Sephabuds, Ferrukhán, a Gilánian and a very powerful man, to consult him on what was to be done. Ferrukhán replied, "It is all over with Persia, whereas from the Arab root a tree has grown which bears fruit. The religion of Muḥammad is a new religion, and every new religion is victorious. Therefore I think that we must make peace and pay tribute. We must however not receive the Musalmán army and pay the capitation-tax individually, but we shall pay it in a lump sum, and levy contributions for it among ourselves as we like." This advice having been approved by all, Ferrukhán despatched a messenger to Sowayd asking for peace, and stipulating that he would pay for the whole of Táberistán the annual sum of five hundred thousand dirhems, but that he should not be compelled to furnish troops to the Musalmáns in time of war. Sowayd accepted the conditions, peace was concluded, and Ferrukhán at once sent one hundred thousand dirhems. All these events took place A.H. 22 (between November 30th, 642, and October 21st, 643).*

Sowayd informed O'mar of the conquest of Ḳaum, of Gorgán, and of Táberistán; whereon the Khalif ordered Noa'im B. Moḳarrin to send also Simáḳ B. Kharasha to Aderbiján, where he had already before sent A'çma B. Farḳad and Boḳayr B. A'bdullah. The first man who opposed Boḳayr was Esfendyár, one of the princes of the country, but he was defeated and captured by the Musalmáns. He said to Boḳayr, "Intendest thou to take possession of the towns of Aderbiján by war or by treaty?" "By treaty," replied Boḳayr. He continued, "Then keep me a prisoner; because if thou killest me, the whole of Aderbiján will arise to avenge my death, and will fight against thee; but if thou keepest me, they will make peace with thee, for fear of exposing my life." Accordingly Boḳayr retained him in captivity, and Simáḳ B. Kharasha brought him reinforcements when he had already obtained possession of the person of Esfendyár and of all the towns within his reach. Hereupon Boḳayr wrote to O'mar that, having no longer any hostilities to fear as long as he retained Esfendyár in his hands, he considered it necessary to march to Derbend.

Meanwhile Behrám B. Ferrukhzád, one of the Dehḳáns of Aderbiján, assembled a considerable army, but being attacked by the united forces of Boḳayr, of Simáḳ, and of A'çma he was put to flight, then

* Tabari, III., p. 494.

Esfendyár said to Boḳayr, "This was the only remaining opponent. Now Aderbiján belongs to thee; thou canst go where thou pleasest, there is no longer any one in this province who can attack thee." Boḳayr expedited the news of his victory to O'mar, as well as the fifth part of the plunder, and asked for authorization to march to Derbend, which O'mar willingly granted. Hereupon Boḳayr established A'çma B. Farḳad his lieutenant in Aderbiján, leaving with him Simák and all his troops, as well as his prisoner Esfendyár, and marched to Derbend.

As the Khalif knew that Boḳayr would stand in need of reinforcements at Derbend, he despatched to him Soráḳah, whose vanguard was commanded by A'bd-al-raḥman B. Rabia'. On the route of this army there was a country governed by a prince named Shehryár, who came to A'bd-al-raḥman with proposals of peace, but was unwilling to pay tribute. He said, "I am between two enemies, the Khazars and the Russians. These nations are at feud with the whole world, but only the people of this country are in a position to wage war against them. Instead therefore of paying you tribute, we shall make war against the Russians, by arming and equipping ourselves in order to hinder them from crossing their frontiers. Consider this war, which we are compelled annually to wage, as a compensation for the capitation-tax and the impost." A'bd-al-raḥman replied, "I am under the command of an officer whom I shall inform," and despatched Shehryár with a man to Soráḳah, who in his turn desired to submit the case to O'mar. The Khalif decided that these people should be exempted from paying the capitation-tax and the impost, which decision afterwards became a general law, "because the people of those narrow passes fight against the infidels and defend the Musalmáns, and this is considered a compensation of the tax." This measure was equally adhered to afterwards in the conquest of Transoxiana, in Sijáb (Isfijáb) and Ferghánah, where the people being constantly at war with the Turks hindered them from invading the Musalmán territory. To levy tribute in mountain-fastnesses, or in plains where the bulk of the inhabitants are in a nomadic state wandering from pasture to pasture, would have been a somewhat arduous task, and would have caused much ill-feeling: therefore it was no doubt very good policy not to insist on this point at once, but to leave it for the present, and to wait till the consolidation of the Musalmán power might facilitate the imposition of taxes.

After the termination of this affair, Sorâkah, Bokayr, and Habib B. Maslama united their forces, and the inhabitants of all the other mountain-passes made peace with them. They engaged themselves to protect the Musalmán territory against the invasions of enemies through these defiles, that the Musalmáns might have no need of posting troops in them. Sorákah sent his officers into the defiles or into the towns which were among the mountains. He also strengthened all the passages towards the Alains and the Khazars, so that the Musalmáns were protected in their towns against enemies. Then he wrote a letter to O'mar giving an account of what he had done. The Khalif was delighted, as he had entertained grave apprehensions with reference to these mountain passages. He apprehended that if the foes were to cross these passages and to invade the Musalmán territory, the Persians might join them and again repel the Musalmáns. He had never thought that this affair could so rapidly be brought to a prosperous termination. Therefore he experienced a lively joy on the receipt of the just-mentioned letter, and wrote to Sorákah a reply full of praise; the latter however died shortly afterwards at Derbend, and A'bd-al-rahman took his place as commander.

A'bd-al-rahman asked Shehryár in what direction he might attempt to penetrate with an expedition through the mountain-passes, in order to convert the people of the country to Islám. Shehryár replied, "Let us be content to exact from them that they should not allow the enemies to penetrate to us."* A'bd-al-rahman however would not take his advice, but desired to penetrate as far as the rampart of Gog and Magog,† and marched through the mountains into a territory called Balanjar to a distance of twenty parasangs. A man who had been in the just-mentioned expedition with A'bd-al-rahman afterwards came to O'mar, who asked him how they had marched through the mountain-pass, how they had penetrated into those countries, and how they had fought? The man replied, "All those countries were inhabited by pagans, Khazars, and Alains intermixed with Turks. When we arrived, they said to each other, No army of men has ever penetrated to this place. This is a host of the angels of heaven, to have dared to come so far. Then they asked us whether we were angels or men. We replied, We are men; but we have angels to accompany us wherever we go, to assist us when we are attacked. Then

* Tabari, III., p. 498. † Korán, XVIII. 96.

they dared not to approach us, and no one attacked us, because they said, These men cannot be killed because the angels are with them. Accordingly we progressed in this country, till a man in a certain town said to himself, I shall strike one of them, to see whether he will die or not. He posted himself behind a tree, discharged an arrow against one of our men and killed him. Then the inhabitants knew that we were mortal, and made preparations to attack us, but we retraced our steps and returned to Derbend.*

Chapter XVII.—Conflicting Accounts about the Death of Yazdegird.

Although at present scarcely any doubt exists that the death of Yazdegird took place A.D. 651 between the 21st March and the 23rd August, opinions still differ about the manner of it, which was violent according to the majority of authorities. Even if an agreement could be brought about between Persian and Arab authors, the difficulty would still remain that the former had a very limited knowledge of the military operations of the Arabs which gave rise to the wanderings of Yazdegird, whilst the latter knew nothing about Persian life, customs, religion, geography, &c., and of the movements of the fugitive sovereign, which moreover, as their duration amounted to a number of years, could not be easily ascertained.

To these difficulties also the last, but not the least, is to be added,—that more than a thousand years ago, to which period the event now under discussion refers, extremely few persons wrote history, and that of the few writings the majority are lost; difficulty of getting at the truth, which would not have been altered had writers of succeeding ages merely copied their predecessors, was still more increased by their habit of elaborating from their own imaginations episodes and details which never existed; and this liberty taken by prose writers has been abused to an extraordinary degree by poets, who have moreover so exaggerated or distorted historical facts that their authority is very small indeed, and therefore even the Sháhnámah, which is so excellent in many respects, has no great value as a real historical document.

When the Musalmáns had gained the victory at Jalúlá,† Yazdegird was at Holwán, but then went to Rey; his movements appear however

* Tabari III. 499.

† See Chapter XI.

to have been very slow, because the danger ceased after he got out of the way of the Musalmáns; because he travelled with a retinue of several thousand persons, even when he possessed no troops, as he had with him the slaves of his palace, cooks, servants of the body, horsekeepers, secretaries, wives, concubines, the aged and the children of the royal family; and lastly because he never left a town of any importance before he had issued proclamations in all directions, collected troops, and appointed generals to fight the Musalmáns, who would, unless these arrangements had been carried out, have made very short work of the conquest of the Persian monarchy, instead of protracting it through a quarter of a century. He progressed slowly in a chariot drawn by mules, and first took up his position at Rey, as already stated above, and then at Espáhán, but travelled afterwards in Kirmán and in Khorásán, always carrying with him the sacred fire he had brought from the first-mentioned place, which contained the most ancient fire-temple. From Nishápúr he went to Merw, where he felt more secure, and whence he sent a proclamation to all the districts to which the Arabs had not yet penetrated. He built a fire-temple at a distance of two parasangs from Merw, depositing in it the fire he had brought with him from Rey, surrounded the fire-temple with gardens, erected mills, and thus produced a delicious landscape, in which he continued to dwell for some time.

Mahwy Sury, the governor of Khorásán and vassal of Yazdegird, resided at Merw; his jurisdiction extended as far as the river Oxus (Jiḥún), but, being apprehensive of the signs of the times, he had entered into an alliance of mutual defence with a Transoxian chief according to Tabari; according to the Rauẓat-al-çafa he had also married his daughter. Both books call him the Kháḳán of the Turks, in other respects their accounts differ. That much is certain, that 7,000 men of the troops of this Kháḳán had been received by Mahwy Sury, to impose on Yazdegird, who desired the governor to settle his accounts of several years with him, and to produce funds. The unfortunate sovereign had been politely decoyed into the fort of Merw, where he was to have been murdered during the night; the plot was however discovered in time, and he walked out alone. After a while he felt tired, and arriving near a mill intended to sleep there, but the king's embroidered robe excited the cupidity of the miller, who chopped off his head with a hatchet whilst he was asleep, then took his clothes and threw the corpse into the water. Search was made for the lost king by Mahwy,

and Yazdegird's robe having been found with the miller he was killed. After that Mahwy governed peaceably in Merw till O'mar sent Aḥnaf B. Ḳays to Khorásán with the army of Boçrah and Kufah, but he met with no resistance, and when he arrived in Merw, Mahwy escaped to Transoxiana.

The above succinct account of the death of Yazdegird is probably the most correct, and the various details and embellishments added to it by some authors must be taken for what they are worth. Tabari also gives it, but does not consider it authentic; my respect however for so painstaking and valuable a chronicler compels me to insert his own account* in this place, omitting only the unimportant portions of it:—

When Yazdegird came to Merw, O'mar despatched Aḥnaf B. Ḳays with 12,000 men of the armies of Kufah and Boçrah, and ordered him to pursue Yazdegird to every place, and to make him disappear from the face of the earth. When Aḥnaf arrived in Merw, Yazdegird fled to Merv-al-rúd, whence he sent ambassadors to the Kháḳán of the Turks, to the king of Soghd, to the emperor of China, and asked aid from them. Then Yazdegird went to Balkh, where he fortified himself, but when Aḥnaf took Balkh, Yazdegird escaped again and crossed the Oxus, whence he proceeded to Soghd, the king of which country furnished him with a numerous army, as well as the Khaḳán, who, after assembling all the warriors of Ferghánah, recrossed with Yazdegird the Oxus and marched to Balkh. Ribi' B. Amir retired with the troops of Kufah which he had with him towards Merv-al-rúd and joined Aḥnaf. Yazdegird and the Kháḳán, at the head of an army composed of men from Soghd, from Turkestán, from Balkh, and from Tokharestán, to the number of 50,000 cavalry, arrived at Merv-al-rúd. Aḥnaf had 20,000 men at his disposal; they were troops from Kufah and Boçrah. The armies remained during two months in presence of each other at the place now called Dair-al-Aḥnaf, and fought every day from morning till evening. Yazdegird resided at the town Merv-al-rúd.

During a certain night, one of the chief men among the Turks, a relative of the Kháḳán, went out of the camp with his suite to inspect the outposts. Aḥnaf, being informed of this circumstance, came in person to the outposts, attacked the Turk and killed him. This man had two brothers, who, on hearing of his death, came out, the one after the other, to fight with Aḥnaf, who killed them likewise. At break of day,

* Tabari, III., p. 506.

and when the Khâḳan was informed of what had occurred he went to the spot where the combat had taken place. On beholding these three corpses he was much afflicted and said, "This war is very unfortunate! We are here for so long a time and have lost so many men," &c. Consequently he struck his camp, returned to Balkh, immediately crossed the river and returned to Turkestán.

After the departure of the Kháḳán, Yazdegird left Merv-al-rúd and went to Merw, where he had secretly deposited a great quantity of treasures and jewels. When he approached the town, Ḥáresah B. No'mán put it in a state of defence. Yazdegird took his riches (which he had succeeded in taking out from the town) and proceeded to Balkh to join the Kháḳán. The Persian officers who were with him asked him his intention." He told them that he meant to place himself under the protection of the Khaḳán, and to remain with him in Turkestán. The Persians said, "Do not go there, because we shall not follow thee. The Turks are people without religion and without faith," &c. After the refusal of Yazdegird to return with his officers and to put himself rather under the protection of the Arabs than the Turks, they took away his treasures from him and separated. Yazdegird being now alone with his suite departed to the Kháḳán, whilst his officers carried the treasures they had deprived him of to Aḥnaf, and submitted to him. Aḥnaf sent them back to their homes, to Madayn, into the province of Fárs, to Rey and elsewhere; he distributed the treasures among the Musalmáns, each of whom received a sum equal to his share in the booty of Nehávend.

According to the narrative of Tabari just given, the manner of Yazdegird's fate is totally unknown after he took refuge in Transoxiana with the Khaḳán of that country. However, since I have endeavoured to make this paper as exhaustive as the sources at my disposal would permit, I am bound to give two short accounts more, according to which Yazdegird perished by a violent death, and therefore they so far tally with the one which I gave first and consider the most probable; but neither of them mentions the precise locality where he was slain.

The first tradition is that Yazdegird fled after the revolt of the Persians; that they pursued, found, and killed him in a mill: afterwards they carried the treasure to Aḥnaf and submitted to him. The second is that Yazdegird fled from Merw and went to Balkh, crossed the Oxus and betook himself to Turkestán. Having arrived at Soghd

he was again joined by the ambassador he had sent to China, and who brought him a reply from the king of China. In this letter it was said, "I know that kings are bound to aid each other; I have however learnt from thy ambassador what kind of people they are against whom thou askest aid; what their religion, their morals, and their manners are. These men, possessing such a religion and such loyalty, will conquer the whole world, and no one will be able to repel them. No resource remains for thee but to employ peaceful means to remove them, so as not to be expelled by them." Then the Khákán returned to Turkestán, and Yazdegird remained in Ferghánah. Aḥnaf returned from Balkh to Merv-al-rúd and announced to O'mar his victory, but two years after the accession of O'smán the inhabitants of Khorásán revolted, when Yazdegird returned from Ferghánah and was then killed.*

This last account would make Yazdegird's death at least five years earlier than it actually occurred. O'mar having been assassinated in the last days of A.H. 23, *i.e.* on the 4th Nov. 644, was immediately succeeded by O'smán; therefore Yazdegird ought to have been killed in 646, whereas his death actually took place in 651.

CHAPTER XVIII.—EXPEDITIONS TO FA'RS, TO KIRMA'N, TO SEISTA'N, AND TO MEKRA'N.

There is no doubt that when the central government of the Persian monarchy had ceased to exist, the governors of the various provinces acted independently, using their best efforts to defend them separately, without acting in concert. In the beginning of A.H. 23 (after November 30, 642), the Khalif O'mar sent an army of 20,000 men to the province of Fárs, because he had been informed that Shahrukh (or Shehrek), the governor of that province, had collected a numerous army at the town of Tawaz, situated on the frontiers of the Ahwáz. On this occasion O'mar followed a strange plan, which he was soon compelled to give up to prosecute the campaign more successfully. Instead of appointing a commander-in-chief over the whole army, he parcelled out the chief towns of the provinces to his officers, ordering each to march straight on it, because he had heard that the whole Persian army was concentrated in the abovementioned town, and because he conceived that by acting in this manner no great resistance would be met with. When, however the Musalmán army divided itself, as ordered by the Khálif, the Persian army did so likewise, and each chief marched to his

* Tabari, III., p. 511.

town to defend it. Mujashi' B. Masu'd then marched on Tawaz, where Shahrukh, who had returned to Shiráz to defend it, had left but a small garrison, which he massacred, and where he gained immense booty. A part of this province had been conquered already before,* but had again thrown off its allegiance to the Musalmáns as soon as a chance to revolt had presented itself; and now O'smán B. Ab-al-A's again subjugated the people of Eçṭakhar, who had come out to fight him, but were defeated, whilst his brother Al-Ḥakam B. Ab-ul-A's marched on Shiráz, where (as has already been mentioned) Shahrukh had gone, whom he killed with his own hand after a fierce contest between the two armies.

The success of the Musalmáns was not so rapid at Darabgerd, which they were compelled to besiege for two months, after the expiration whereof the Persians made a sortie, and a terrible battle ensued, in which the Musalmáns had well nigh taken to flight, but saved themselves by taking up their position near a mountain, which so effectually protected their rear that they eventually gained the victory.

The Kirmán had been entered by the Musalmáns already A.H. 22, but hostilities took place only a year afterwards, when the inhabitants assembled an army and called to their aid the inhabitants of the Kuj mountains, who came down into the towns. Then a battle took place, and afterwards A'bdullah B. I'tbán despatched Sohayl B. A'di, by the direct route passing through the towns, to a place called Jireft, situated in the centre of the Kirmán, whither he also himself marched by way of the desert and took possession of all the cattle he met with, and which amounted to a countless number of camels and sheep. On that occasion also the Kohestán was invaded.

During this same year A.H. 23 O'mar despatched A'sim B. A'mr from Boçrah to the Seistán. The governor of that province had collected a numerous army and come as far as the frontiers to attack the Musalmáns, but was defeated after a battle, and shut himself up in his capital, Zerenj, which, being a well-fortified town, was not attacked by the Musalmáns, who contented themselves with occupying the surrounding places, but when the governor saw that he could not hold out for ever, he capitulated.

The Mekrán, which is bounded on the north by Kirmán, and on the south by India, was then invaded by A'bdullah B. A'bdullah; inhabitants of Mekrán who were neighbours to the king of Sind asked his aid against the Arabs, and he arrived at the head of a numerous army

* See Ch. XIII.

with many elephants, but was defeated and the latter taken. A'bdullah immediately despatched a messenger with news of the victory to O'mar, who questioned him about the country and elicited the following reply:—"Commander of the Faithful, it is a country of which the mountains are mountains indeed, and the plains of which are real mountains; it is a country with so little water that its dates are the worst of dates, and the inhabitants the most warlike of men. If thou hadst a more numerous army there, it would be annihilated and could do nothing; and if thy army is considerable it will perish of hunger, because there are no victuals. The country beyond it is still worse." Consequently O'mar sent the following instructions to his officers:—"Do not cross the boundaries of Mekrán. You have nothing to do with Sind; do not lead the Musalmáns to their destruction. Send letters to Sind, that the princes of that country who wish to have their elephants back may ransom them and send you money, which you will distribute among the soldiers."

Expeditions were also undertaken against the more unsettled population, and the Kurds, to subjugate whom was much more difficult than the inhabitants who possessed fixed habitations and landed estates, whilst nomads wandered from pasture to pasture, and large hordes could elude all persecution for a time by simply going to the deserts and mountains. Sometimes the Persians averted persecution by bribing the Arab officers who governed in their districts, and at others by outwardly conforming with the formalities of the Musalmáns under intimidation, and it required some time before the Faith took actual root and became hereditary. There is no doubt that there were also a few wise men among the conquering race perfectly aware that it would be bad policy to insist on the immediate conversion of the whole people, and to exasperate it. The complete subjugation of the vast extent of the Persian monarchy took place only by degrees, and revolts now and then still took place, but were suppressed without very great difficulty, as no extensive organizations or ramifications of them among the various districts were possible. These insurrections were frequent enough up to the death of the Khálif Sulaimán B. A'bd-al-Melek, which took place A. H. 99 (717-18). The last great effort of the Persians to recover their ancient independence occurred also in the 8th century of our era, but the Rauẓat-al-çafa, from which I take the account, does not give the date. Sinbád the Zoroastrian, an influential inhabitant of Nishápúr, raised the standard of revolt, by first proclaim-

ing his intention to liberate the Persians from the Musalmán yoke in his native city, and inviting the population of the district of Rey, as well as the whole of Táberistán, to make common cause with him. Sinbád first marched to Kazvin, with the intention of taking possession of it, but was disappointed. In Rey he was more successful; he not only took it, but slew its governor, and obtained an enormous booty of arms and other articles. When he had collected an army of 100,000 men, he declared that the end of Islám was at hand, that a scion of the Sásánian dynasty would make his appearance, under whose command he would march to Mekkah and would destroy the Ka'bah. When Abu Ja'fer Mançur heard of what was taking place, he marched with his army to Sáwa; Sinbád, too, hastened to encounter him, carrying also numerous Musalmán women whom he had placed on camels. The battle which took place was decisive: Sinbád was put to flight and afterwards killed in Táberistán; his army was partly destroyed, but many of the fugitives perished of thirst in the desert. The total number of those who lost their lives is stated to have amounted to 70,000.

It is probable that the ancestors of the Zoroastrian community of India, who arrived in a ship at Sánján, on the coast of Gujarát, were fugitives from Persia who escaped after the just described last revolution of the Zoroastrians in that country. That party consisted of a few wealthy men, who had bought a ship, wherein they embarked with their servants, and who were the nucleus of which all the Parsees of India are the descendants. As there are absolutely no historical data extant about this little emigration, a short account of which, named "The Story of Sánján," was written by a Mobed of Surat, centuries after it had taken place, A.D. 1590, the above conjecture may be considered just as valid as any other that could be made.

Art. V.—*Old Canarese and Sanskṛit Inscriptions relating to the Chieftains of the Sindavaṁśa, edited, with translations, notes, and remarks,* by J. F. Fleet, Esq., Bo. C.S.

Presented May 15th, 1875.

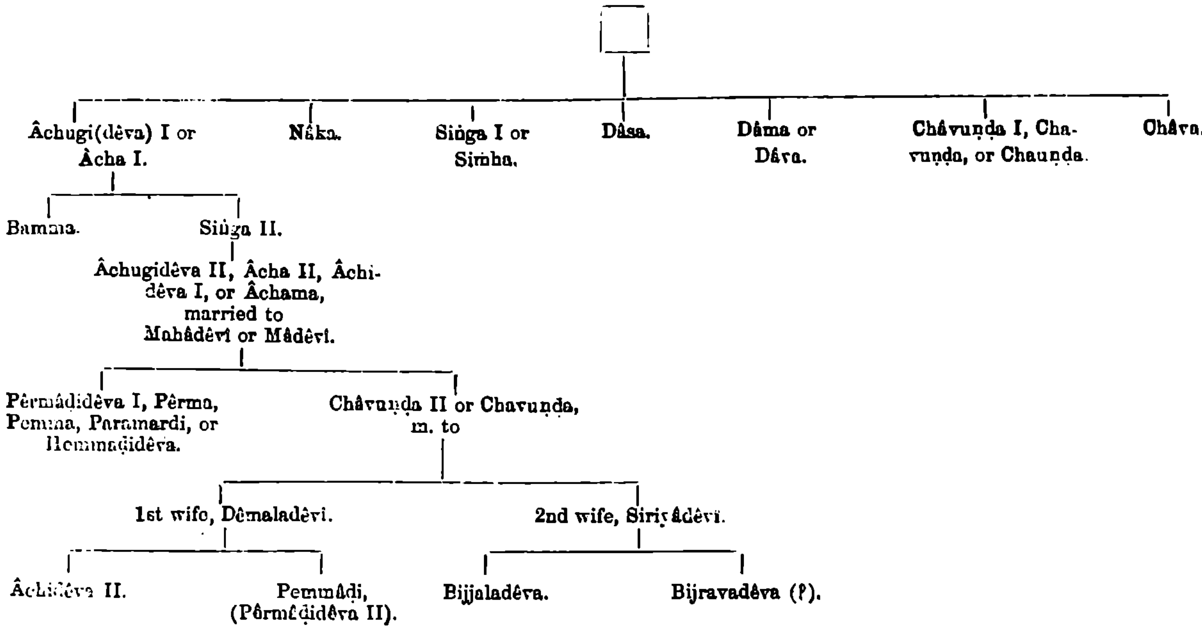
The accompanying six Old Canarese and Sanskṛit Inscriptions relate to a dynasty of Mahâmaṇḍalêśvaras or Great Chieftains of the Sinda family, who, as the local representatives of the Châlukya kings, were governing, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D., the country round Narêgal in the Dhârwâḍ District and Aihoḷe and Paṭṭadakal in the Kalâdgi District.

The originals are all in the Old Canarese characters. Nos. I and II are from stone-tablets in the temples of Kalamêśvaradêva and Tripurântakadêva respectively at Narêgal; and Nos. III and IV are from stone-tablets in the temple of Mollê-Brahmadêva at Koḍikoppa, a hamlet of Narêgal. I examined in person the originals of these four inscriptions. But, in order to effect a saving of time, I had had prepared, before my arrival at Narêgal, rough copies for me to correct on the spot; the corrections that I had to make in these copies were innumerable and led to much confusion, and the result is that the versions now submitted, though substantially correct, may perhaps be susceptible of improvement in a few minor points such as the use of the different forms of '*l*' and '*s*', the doubling of consonants after the letter '*r*', &c. No. V is from Paṭṭadakal and No. VI from Aihoḷe, and these two inscriptions have been edited from photographs as specified in the first note to the translation of each.

The inscriptions mention the following kings of the Châlukya dynasty :—

Jayasiṁha.
|
Âhavamalla.
|
- Sômêśvara or Bhuvanaikamalla.
- Vikrama, Vikramâṅka, Pêrmâḍi, or Tribhuvanamalla.
  |
  Sôma.
  |
  - Jagadêkamalladêva.
  - Nûrmaḍitaila.

And they furnish the following genealogy of the Sinda family :—


Âchugi(dêva) I or Âcha I.
Nâka.
Siṅga I or Simha.
Dâsa.
Dâma or Dâva.
Châvuṇḍa I, Chavuṇḍa, or Chauṇḍa.
Châva.
Bamma.
Siṅga II.
Âchugidêva II, Âcha II, Âchidêva I, or Âchama, married to Mahâdêvî or Mâdêvî.
Pêrmâḍidêva I, Pêrma, Pemma, Paramardi, or Hemmaḍidêva.
Châvuṇḍa II or Chavuṇḍa, m. to
1st wife, Dêmaladêvî.
2nd wife, Siriyâdêvî.
Âchidêva II.
Pemmâḍi, (Pêrmâḍidêva II).
Bijjaladêva.
Bijravadêva (?).

No. I refers to the time of Pêrmâḍidêva I who, as the subordinate of the Châlukya king Vikramâditya II*, was governing the Kisukâḍu Seventy, the Kôḷavâḍi Three-hundred, the Bâgaḍage or Bâgaḍige Seventy, and the Narayangal or Nareyangal Twelve. But the inscription commemorates grants made much earlier, viz. in Śaka 872 (A.D. 950-51), the Saumya *saṁvatsara*. Pêrmâḍidêva's capital was Rambarage or Rambirage, which I have not been able to trace on the map.

No. II, again belongs to the time of Pêrmâḍidêva I, now also called Jagadêkamalla-Pêrmâḍidêva, being at this time the subordinate of the Châlukya king Jagadêkamalladêva. † This inscription, also, commemorates a grant made long before, viz. in the Sâdhâraṇa *saṁvatsara*, to which the same year of the Śaka era is allotted as is allotted in the preceding inscription to the Saumya *saṁvatsara*. The Saumya and Sâdhâraṇa *saṁvatsaras* are respectively the forty-third and the forty-fourth years of the cycle; and calculating back from the present time,—Śaka 1797, Yuva *saṁvatsara*,—Śaka 872 was the Sâdhâraṇa *saṁvatsara*. In respect of the laxity of the Hindus in frequently allotting the same year of the Śaka to different *saṁvatsaras* of the cycle, Mr. Brown, at page 26 of his *Carnatic Chronology*, remarks,—"These discrepancies never trouble the Hindus, who care little for the numeral as long as the title is known. They certainly have a vulgar prejudice against specifying their exact age, the number of their children, the sum of their cattle, or how many trees there are in an orchard. And the same feeling seems to rule in chronology. They punctiliously state the month, day, hour, and moment, of the deed recorded, and the title of the year; but its numeral is often omitted, and more often wrongly stated. It is, however, observable that the variation is seldom more than *three*, plus or minus. If it is larger, we may suspect forgery,—of which the instances rarely occur."

No. III, earlier in point of date than the preceding two, belongs to the time of Âchugidêva II, who was the subordinate of the Châlukya king Vikramâditya II. His government included, when this inscription was engraved, only the Kisukâḍu Seventy and the Nareyangal Twelve; the Kôḷavâḍi Three-hundred and the Bâgaḍage Seventy, which we find in the possession of his son Pêrmâḍidêva towards the close of the reign

* Śaka 998 to 1049,—Sir W. Elliot.

† Śaka 1060 to 1072,—Sir W. Elliot.

of Vikramâdityadêva, must have been acquired in the conquests achieved by Âchugidêva, as the inscriptions tell us, at the command of his master Vikrama. This inscription records a grant made by Âchugidêva himself in the forty-fifth year of Vikramâditya, *i.e.* in the Śaka year 1042 (A.D. 1120-21), the Śubhakṛit * *saṁvatsara.*

No. IV is another inscription of the time of Pêrmâḍidêva I, and records grants made in the seventh year of the Châlukya king Jagadêkamalladêva, *i.e.* in the Śaka year 1066 (A.D. 1144-5), the Raktâkshi *saṁvatsara.*

No. V is of the time of Châvuṇḍa II, the subordinate of the Châlukya king Nûrmaḍitaila or Tailapadêva III†. The inscription records grants made in the Śaka year 1084 (A.D. 1162-3), the Subhânu‡ *saṁvatsara*, by Châvuṇḍa's chief wife Dêmaladêvî and his eldest son Âchidêva II, who were governing, apparently during Châvuṇḍa's lifetime and as his representatives, at the capital of Paṭṭadakisuvoḷal,—apparently the modern Paṭṭadakal.

No. VI, again, a fragment only, refers to the time of Châvuṇḍa II. It gives the name of his second wife, Siriyâdêvî; and of their two sons, Bijjaladêva and Bijravadêva (?), who, whether in their father's lifetime or after his death, is not apparent, were governing the Kisukâḍu Seventy, the Bâgaḍage Seventy, and the Kĕḷavâḍi Three-hundred. The part of the inscription containing the grant is partly quite illegible and partly lost. Of the date, only the last figure of the year,—4,—and the name of the *saṁvatsara*,—Virôdhi,—are legible in the photograph. This figure and the name of the year are distinctly legible, but there is some error in them; perhaps the date intended is Śaka 1091 (A.D. 1169-70), which was the Virôdhi *saṁvatsara*, or Śaka 1114 by mistake for Śaka 1113 (A.D. 1191-92), which was the Virôdhikṛit *saṁvatsara.*

* * * * * * *

These inscriptions contain many historical allusions and notices of places; but at present I am not in a position to suggest an explanation of

* According to the table in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, which appears to be correct, and calculating back from the present time, the Śubhakṛit *saṁvatsara* was Śaka 1044. I have in at least one other instance found the Śubhakṛit *saṁvatsara* made to correspond with the forty-fifth year of Vikramâditya,—*i.e.* the first year of his reign being Śaka 998, with the Śaka year 1042, as here.

† Śaka 1072 to 1104,—Sir W. Elliot.

‡ According to the table in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, the Subhânu *saṁvatsara* was Śaka 1085.

more than one or two of them. The two most powerful and renowned members of the family appear to have been Achugidêva II and Pêrmâḍidêva I. Gôve and the Koṅkaṇa, when they were acquired by Âchugidêva II, must have been in the possession of the later Kâdambas of Goa; and the Bhôja with whom he came in contact is probably Bhôja I, of the family of the Śilâhâra Mahâmaṇḍalêśvaras of Vaḷavâḍa, whose date is about Śaka 1050 (A.D. 1128-9). The Jayakêśî, who was driven back, perhaps in an attempt to recover Goa, by Pêrmâḍidêva I, is probably the Kâdamba Jayakêśî III, whose date is about Śaka 1060 (A.D. 1138-9). And Biṭṭiga of Dhôrasamudra, repulsed and pursued by the same prince, is the Hoysaḷa king Vishṇuvardhana or Biṭṭidêva of Dvârâvatîpura, whose date is about the same. Sir W. Elliot has shown that the Hoysaḷa kings first obtained a permanent footing to the north of the Tuṅgabhadrâ in the person of Vishṇuvardhana's grandson, Vîraballâḷa, whose date was about Śaka 1113 (A.D. 1191-2). It would seem, therefore, that it was the Great Chieftains of the Sindavaṁśa who held them in check up to that time, and that the Sindavaṁśa finally succumbed to the conquests of the Hoysaḷa dynasty.

No. I.*

[1]ಓಂ ನಮಃ ಶಿವಾ[ಯ ||] ನ[ಮಸ್ತುಂಗಶಿರಶ್ಚುಂಬಿಚಂದ್ರಚಾಮರಚಾರವೇ । ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯ-
ನ]ಗರಾರಂಭಮೂಲಸ್ತಂಭಾಯ ಸಂ(ಶಂ)[ಭವೇ ||] [2]ಜಯತ್ಯಾನ(?ಸ)† ....
ಸಮಸ್ತಭುವನಂ ಶಿವಃ || [3]ಶ್ರೀರಾಮಾರಮಣ(ಣೀ)ಯು(ಯಂ) ಸಾರವ(ಸಾರೌಘ?)ಶ್ರೀನಿವಾಸವಮಳಯಶೋವಿಸ್ತಾರ(ರಂ)
ಸಮಸ್ತಭುವನಾಧಾರ(ರಂ) ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯವಂಶವೆಸೆದುದು ಧರೆಯೊಳ್ || ಕ್ರಮದಿ(ದಿಂ)ದ(ದಂ) ಪ[ಲಬರ್‘] [4]-
ಜಗಜ್ಜನನುತಚ್ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯಭೂಪಪ್ಪ್ರರಾಕ್ರಮದಿಂ ಪಾಲಿಸುತಂ ಬರಲ್ ಧರಣಿಯಂ ತದ್ವಂಶಜಾತಂ ನೃಪೋತ್ತಮ-
ರತ್ನಂ ಜಯಸಿಂಘನಪ್ರತಿಮತೇಜಂ [ತಾ][5]ಳ್ದಿದಂ ಪ್ರಾಜ್ಯರಾಜ್ಯಮನಾತ್ಮೀಯಚರಿತ್ರತೀರ್ತ್ಥಜಲಧೌತಾಶೇಷಧಾತ್ರೀತ-
ಳಂ || ಎನೆ ನೆಗಳ್ದ ಭೂಪನಿಂ ತತ್ತನೆ(ನ)ಯಂ ಧಾತ್ರೀಶನಾದನಾಹವಕೇಳೀವಿನುತ[6]ಭುಜದರ್ಪ್ಪ-
ವೀರಾವನಿವಲ್ಲಭನಿಕರಮಲ್ಲನಾಹವಮಲ್ಲಂ || ವೃ || ಆ ಭೂವಲ್ಲಭನಿಂದೆ ರಾಜ್ಯನಿರತಂ ತತ್ಸೂನು

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* The numerals in square brackets in the text of each inscription mark the commencement of each line of the original. Letters supplied, when effaced or illegible in the original, from conjecture or from other sources, are given in square brackets,—[ ], and corrections, emendations, and doubtful points, in ordinary brackets,—( ); a note of interrogation before a letter in ordinary brackets denotes a doubtful alternative reading, and a note of interrogation after such a letter denotes a doubt as to the propriety of a correction or emendation. In these and in such other inscriptions as I may publish hereafter my standards of orthography are for Sanskrit words Prof. Monier Williams' Sanskṛit-English Dictionary and for Canarese words the Rev. D. Sanderson's enlarged edition of the Rev. W. Reeve's Dictionary.

† Twenty letters are effaced and illegible.

ಸೋಮೇಶ್ವರಂ ಭೂಭಾರೋದ್ಧರಣ[7]ಕ್ಷಮ(ಮಂ) ಚತುರುಪಾಯೋಪೇತಪಂಚಾಂಗಮಂತ್ರಾಭಿದ್ಯೋತಿತರಾಜನೀತಿವಿನುತಂ ತೀಬ್ರ(ವ್ರ)ಪ್ರತಾಪಾವಲೇಪಾಭೀಳಂ ಭುವನೈಕಮಲ್ಲನೆಸೆದಂ ಪ್ರಖ್ಯಾತವೀರೋತ್ತಮಂ ॥ ಅಂತಾ [8]ಭೂಪನಿ-ನವನೀಕಾನ್ತಾಪತಿಯಾದನಾತನನುಜಂ ಘನವಿಕ್ರಾಂತಂ ತ್ರಿಭುವನಮಲ್ಲಂ ಕೌಂತೇಯಭುಜಪ್ರತಾಪನಪ್ರತಿರೂಪಂ ॥ ತಂನಾಜ್ಞೆ ತಂನ ತೇಜಂ ತಂನುನ್ನತಿ ನೆಗಳೆ ರಾಯ[9]ರಿಂನುಂ ಮುಂನಂ(ನುಂ) ತಂನ ದೊರೆಯೆನ್ನಿ-(ನಿ)ಪರಿಲ್ಲೆಂಬಂನಂ ಪೆರ್ಮ್ಮಾಡಿರಾಯನೆಸೆದಂ ಜಗದೊಳ್ ॥ ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತಭುವನಾಶ್ರಯ ಶ್ರೀಪೃಥ್ವೀವಲ್ಲಭ ಮಹಾರಾ[10]ಜಾಧಿರಾಜ ಪರಮೇಶ್ವರ ಪರಮಭಟ್ಟಾರಕ ಸತ್ಯಾಶ್ರಯಕುಳತಿಳಕ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯಾಭರಣ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ರಿ(ತ್ರಿ)-ಭುವನಮಲ್ಲದೇವರ ವಿಜಯರಾಜ್ಯ[11]ಮುತ್ತರೋತ್ತರಾಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಪ್ರವರ್ದ್ಧ(ರ್ದ್ಧ)ಮಾನಮಾಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕ್ಕತಾರಂ ಸಲುತ್ತಮಿರೆ ॥ ಆ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯಕುಲಕ್ಕೆ ಭರ್ತ್ತರೆನಿಸಿದ್ದತ್ಯಂತವಿಕ್ರಾಂತಲೀಲಾಚಾರ್ಯ್ಯರ್ಕ್ಕ[12]ದನ್ಯೈಕಧುರ್ಯ್ಯರವನೀಪ್ರಸ್ತುತ್ಯಶುದ್ಧಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧಾಚಾ-ರಜ್ಞರ್ಗದೇಕವೀರರಸವೃಕ್ಷಕ್ಷತ್ರಸಂವೇದ್ಯವಿದ್ಯಾಚಾತುರ್ಯ್ಯರುದಗ್ರಧೈರ್ಯ್ಯರೆಸೆದರ್ಸಿಂ[13]ದಾನ್ವಯೋರ್ವ್ವೀಭುಜರ್ ॥ ತದ್ವಂ-ಶಪ್ರಭವಂ ಪ್ರಭೂತವಿಭವಂ ನಾನಾಕಳಾಕೋವಿದಂ ವಿದ್ವಿಷ್ಟಾವನಿಪಾಳಜಾಳವಿಜಯಪ್ರೋಲ್ಲಣ್ಠದೋರ್ದ್ದಣ್ಡನುದ್ಯ[14]-ದ್ವೀರಾಗ್ರಣಿ ಮಣ್ಡಳೀಕತಿಳಕಂ ಸಿಂದಾನ್ವಯಖ್ಯಾತಿಸಂಪದ್ವಿಸ್ತಾರಿಚರಿತ್ರನಾಚುಗಿನೃಪಂ ಪ್ರಖ್ಯಾತಿಯಂ ತಾಳ್ದಿದಂ ॥ ಅನುಪಮಶೌರ್ಯ್ಯಂ ಚಾಳು[15]ಕ್ಯನರೇಂದ್ರನ ಮುಂದೆ ಹಟ್ಟಿಗಾಳೆಗರೊಳ್ ಪೆಂಪಿನ ಪೆಂಪಂ ಪರಪಿದನೆಂ-ಬೆನೆ ಸುಭಟದ್ಗೋರೆಯಿ ಬಗೆವಡಾಚುಗಿನೃಪನೊಳ್ ॥ ಎನೆ ನೆಗ[16]ರ್ದ್ದ(ರ್ದಾ)ಚುಗಿಭೂಮಿಪನನುಜಾತನ್ನಾ-ಕನೃಪತಿ ಸಿಂಗನೃಪಂ ದಾಸನೃಪಂ ದಾವನೃಪಂ ಚೌಣ್ಡನೃಪಂ ಚಾವನೃಪನೆನೆ ಗುಣೋನ್ನತರೆಸೆದರ್ ॥ ಅವರೊಳ[17]ಗೆ ರಾಜ್ಯಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನಿವಾಸನೆನೆ ನೆಗಟ್ದನಖಿಳರಿಪುಭೀಕರನಾರ್ದ್ಧನಭುಜಬಳಂ ಯಶ(ಶಃ)ಶ್ರೀಭವನಂ ಕ-

ದನಪ್ರಚಣ್ಡ ಚಾವುಂಡ * ನೃಪಂ ॥ ಎನೆಸ[18]ದಾ(ಎನಿಸಿರ್ದ್ದ) ಭೂಪನಿಂದಂ ನೆಗಳ್ದನಖಿಲರಾಜ್ಯಾಂಗನಾವಲ್ಲಭಂ ಶಾಸನೆನೆ ದೋರ್ವ್ವಿಕ್ರಾಂತದಿಂದಾಹುಗಿನೃಪತನೆ(ನ)ಯುಂ ಬಂಮಭೂಪಂ ರಣಾಭೀಳನೃಪಾಳೀ[19]ತ್ತಂಸನುರ್ವ್ವೀಧರವಿಭೂಷಣಯಾಧೀಶ್ವರ(ರಂ) ಶ್ರೀಪದಾಬ್ಜಾವನಮದ್ಭ್ರಂಗಂ ಗುಣಾಂಭೋನಿಧಿ ಬುಧಜನಲಬ್ಧಪ್ರಶಂಸಾವತಂಸಂ ॥ ಆ ನೃಪತಿಯಿಂದೆ ರಾಜ್ಯ[20]ಶ್ರೀನಾರೀರಮಣನೆನಿಸಿದಂ ಗುಣನಿಳಯಂ ಭೂನುತಶಸ್ತ್ರಕಳಾವಿಜ್ಞಾನಂ ಮಣ್ಡಳಿಕತಿಳಕನಾಹುಗಿದೇವಂ ॥ ಪಲಮುಂ ದುರ್ಗ್ಗಂಗಳಂ ಕೊಣ್ಡು(ಣ್ಡು) [21]ವಿನತನೃಪರಂ ತೂಳ್ದಿ ಬೆಂಕೊಂಡ ದರ್ಪ್ಪಾವಿಳರಂ ಮಾರ್ಕ್ಕೊಂಡರಾತಿಕ್ಷಿತಿಪತಿಗಳ ದೇಶಂಗಳಂ ಕೂಡೆ ಕೈಕೊಂಡು ಲಸತ್ಪುಣ್ಯಕ್ರಿಯಾಸಂಭವವಿಭ[22]ವಮನಂತೊಟ್ಟತಂಗೊಂಡು ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಲಲನಾಕಾನ್ತಂ ಸಮಂತಾಚರಸನಖಿಲಸೌಖ್ಯಾಸ್ಪದ(ದಂ) ಖ್ಯಾತನಾದಂ ॥ ಚಂಡಾಕುಪ್ರತಿಭಾಸಿ ಪೊಯ್ಸಳನನಾರ್ದ್ದ[23]ರ್ವ್ವಟ್ಟಿದಂ ಗೋವೆಯಂ ಕೊಂಡಂ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮನನಾಜಿಯೊಳ್ ತವಿಸಿದಂ ವಿಕ್ರಾಂತದಿಂ ಸೇವ್ಯ ಬೆಂಕೊಂಡಂ ಪಾಂಡ್ಯನನಾವಗಂ ಮಲಪರಂ ತೂಳ್ದಟ್ಟಿದಂ ಕೊಂಕಣಂಗೊಂ[24]ಡಂ ವಿಕ್ರಮಚಕ್ರವರ್ತ್ತಿ ಬೆಸಸಲ್ ಸಂಗ್ರಾಮಕಣ್ಠೀರವಂ ॥ ವ ॥ ಇಂತು ಧರ್ಮ್ಮನಿರ್ಮ್ಮಾಣತತ್ಪರನೆನಿಸಿದ ಮಹಾಮಣ್ಡಳೇಶ್ವರಂ । ಆಚರಸನ ಮ[25]ಹಾಸತಿ ॥ ಪರಮಪತಿಬ್ರ(ವ್ರ)ತೆ ನಿರ್ಮ್ಮಳಚರಿತೆ ಮಹಾಪ್ರಣ್ಯವತಿ ಮಹಾದೇವಿ ಜಗದ್ವರಮಣ್ಡಳೀಕರಾಜ್ಞೀಶಿರೋವಿಭೂಷಣವೆನಲ್ಕೆ ಜನ[26]ಮಂ ತಳೆದಳ್ ॥ ಎನಿಸಿದ ಮಾದೇವಿಗವಾ ಜನನುತನೃಪತಿಳಕನೆನಿಸಿದಾಚರಸಂಗಂ ಜನಿಯಿಸಿದಂ ಸಕಳಜಗಜ್ಜನಹರ್ಷಂ ಜ-

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* I am not quite sure whether the reading in the original here is ಚಾಮುಂಡ or ಚಾವುಂಡ, but the latter form is probably the reading, as it approximates more closely to the abbreviated form ಚೌಂಡ and it is undoubtedly the reading in Nos. V and VI.

ನಿಯಿಸಲ್ಕೆ ಪೆರ್ಮ್ಮಾ[27]ಡಿನೃಪಂ ॥ ಜಿತವೀರದ್ವಿಟ್ಪುರಂ ನಿರ್ಜ್ಜಿತಸಮದಮಹೀನಾಥಯೂಥಂ ಭುಜೋ-
ಪಾರ್ಜ್ಜಿತನಾನಾಮಣ್ಡಳಂ ತರ್ಜ್ಜಿತರಿಪುನೃಪಶೀಬ್ರ(ವ್ರ)ಪ್ರತಾಪೋದ[28]ಯಂ ವರ್ಜ್ಜಿತಕಾಳೀ[ಯ]ಪ್ರಭಾವಪ್ರಭವಕಲುಷನಸ್ಫೂ-
ರ್ಜ್ಜಿತತ್ರಾಸಾತಿಲೋಕೋರ್ಜ್ಜಿತಚಾರಿತ್ರಂ ಮಹಾಮಂಡಳಿಕತಿಮಿರಚಂಡಾಂ[29]ಶು ಪೆರ್ಮ್ಮಾಡಿದೇವಂ [॥ ಅಮಮಾ]
ಪೆರ್ಮ್ಮಾಡಿಭೂಪಂಗೆನೆ ಸು(ಶು)ಚಿಚರಿತಸ್ನಾನದೇವಾರ್ಚ್ಚನಾಹೋಮಮಹಾದಾನಬ್ರ(ವ್ರ)ತೌಘದ್ವಿಜಗುರು[30]ಮುನಿಪೂಜಾದಿಪುಣ್ಯಕ್ರಿಯಾಪ್ರಕ್ರ-
ಮದಿಂ ಧರ್ಮ್ಮಾರ್ತ್ಥಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಶ್ರುತಿಯಿನಖಿಲದಿವ್ಯಾನ್ನದಾನಂಗಳಿಂದುತ್ತಮನಾನಾನವ್ಯಕಾವ್ಯಶ್ರವಣ[31]ಸರಸಗೋಷ್ಠೀವಿಳಾಸಂಗಳಿಂದಂ ॥
ಸತ ಸಫಲವೆನಿಸಿ ದಿವಸಂ ಸಲುತ್ತುಮಿರೆ ಸದ್ವಿನೋದದಿ(ದಿಂ) ರಾಜ್ಯಶ್ರೀಲ[ಲ]ನೆಯೊಡಗೂಡಿ ಸುಖದಿಂ
[32]ನಲಿಯುತಿ(ತ್ತಿ)ರ್ಪ್ಪ(ರ್ಪ್ಪಂ) ಸಲೀಲನಭಿನವಭೋಜಂ ॥ ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಧಿಗತಪಂಚಮಹಾಶಬ್ದ ಮಹಾಮಂಡಳೇಶ್ವರ * ।
ಉದಾರವೀರಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಶ್ವರ । ಸಿನ್ದಕು[33]ಳಕಮಳಮಾರ್ತ್ತಂಡ । ಮಂಡಳಿಕಕುಸುಮಕೋದಂಡ । ಸೂ-
(ಶೂ)ಕಳಹಸಾಹಸಪ್ರೌಢಶಿಕ್ಷಾವಿಚಕ್ಷಣಂ(ಣ) । ಪರಿಪೂರ್ಣ್ಣಶುಭಲ[34]ಕ್ಷಣ । ಕವಿಗಮಕವಾದಿವಾಗ್ಮಿಜನಸಂಸ್ತೂ-
ಯಮಾನ । ಗುಣಗಣನಿಧಾನ । ಶಿವಾಗಮಸಮಾಕರ್ಣ್ಣನಕರ್ಣ್ಣಪೂರ । ಸಕಳವಿದ್ವಜ್ಜನಾಧಾ[35]ರ ।
ಅಪಾರಪರಹಿತಾಚಾರ್ಯ್ಯ । ಅಸಹಾಯಶೌರ್ಯ್ಯ । ನಾನಾನಯೋಪಾಯನಿಪುಣಚಾಣಕ್ಯ । ಅಚಳಿತ-
ವಾಕ್ಯ । ಶಸ್ತ್ರಶಾ[36]ಸ್ತ್ರಾದಿಸತ್ಕಳಾಪ್ರವೀಣ । ರಣಾಂಗಣಧುರೀಣ [।] ಭೋಗೋಪಭೋಗ-
ಸಂಕ್ರಂದನ । ಅನೂನದಾನರವಿನಂದನ । ಅನೇಕವಿಧದುರ್ಗ್ಗವರ್ಗ್ಗತ್ರಿ[37]ಣೇತ್ರ । ಆದಿರಾಜಚರಿತ್ರ ।
ಶರಣಾಗತವಜ್ರಪಂಜರ । ಮಂಡಳಿಕದಿಕ್ಕುಂಜರ । ಕಾವ್ಯಗೀತರಸಾನುಭವವಿನೋದ । ಶ್ರೀಮೂಲಸ್ಥಾನದೇ-

* The terminations of these epithets should be noted; it will be seen that each pair is made to rhyme, as also in Nos. II and III.

ವ[38]ಲಬ್ಧವರಪ್ರಸಾದಾದಿನಾಮಾವಳೀವಿರಾಜಿತರಪ್ಪ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾಮಂಡಳೇಶ್ವರಂ ಪೆರ್ಮ್ಮಾಡಿದೇವರಸರ್ ಕಿಸುಕಾಡೆಪ್ಪ-ತ್ತುಂ ಕೆ(? ಕೇ)ಳವಾಡಿಮೂ[39]ನೂಱುಂ ಬಾಗಡಿಗೆಎ(ಯೆ)ಪ್ಪತ್ತುಂ ನರಯಂಗಲ್ ಪನ್ನೆರಡುಮಿಂತಿನಿತಱುಭಯಸಾಮ್ಯವಮಂ ದುಷ್ಟನಿಗ್ರಹವಿಶಿಷ್ಟಪ್ರತಿಪಾಳನೆಯಿಂದೆ ರಂ[40]ಬರಗೆಯ ನೆಲೆವೀಡಿನೊಳ್ ಸುಖಸಂಕಥಾವಿನೋದದಿಂ ರಾಜ್ಯಂಗೆ-ಯ್ಯುತ್ತಮಿರ್ದ್ದು ಪುರಾತನಮಪ್ಪ ಧರ್ಮ್ಮಂಗಳಂ ಪ್ರತಿಪಾಳಿಸು[41]ತ್ತ ಧರ್ಮ್ಮಪ್ರಸಂಗಮಾದಲ್ಲಿ ಧರ್ಮ್ಮಂ-ಗಳ್ಗಿಲ್ಲ ಸಾ(ಶಾ)ಸನಮಾಗಲ್ವೇರ್ಕ್ಕುಮೆಂದು ಕಾರುಣ್ಯಂಗೆಯ್ಯಲ್ ॥ ಕಂ ॥ ಜಳನಿಧಿಪರಿವೃತವಸುಧಾ-ತಳ[42]ದೊಳ್ ಭರತೋರ್ವ್ವಿಗೆಸೆವ ಕುನ್ತಳದೇಶಂ ತಿಳಕಮೆನಿಸಿರ್ದ್ದುದದಱೊಳ್ ಫಳಭರಿತಂ ನರಯಗಲ್ ಕತಂ ರಂಜಿಸುಗುಂ ॥ ವೃತ್ತ ॥ [43]ಅದು ನಾನಾದಿವ್ಯಗನ್ಧಪ್ರಸರಕುಸುಮವಾಟಂಗಳಿಂ ಸಾರ-ಸೌಖ್ಯಪ್ರದಶೀತಾಂಭಸ್ತಟಾಕಂಗಳನತಿಬಹಳಾರಾಮಂ(ಮ)ಷಂಡಂಗಳಿಂ ವ್ಯಾಪ್ತದಿ[44]ಗಂತದ್ಗನ್ಧಶಾಳಿಪ್ರಭೃತಿಸುರಸಸಸ್ಯಂಗಳಿಂ ಚೆಲ್ವು-ವೆತಿ(ತ್ತಿ)ಪ್ಪುರ್ದು ಪಾನ್ಥಬ್ರಾ(ವ್ರಾ)ತಚೇತೋಹರವಖಿಳಜಗದ್ಧವ್ಯವತ್ಯಂತಸೇವ್ಯಂ ॥ ವ ॥ [45]ಅಂತೊಪ್ಪುವ ನರಯಂಗಲ್ಲೆರಡುಂಬಳದೊಳಗಣ್ಯಪುಣ್ಯಮುದಿತೋದಿತಮಪ್ಪ ಪುಣ್ಯಪುರ್ಷ(ರುಷ)ರಿಂದ । ಧರ್ಮ್ಮಪ್ರತಿಪಾ[46]ಳನಾವ-ಳರಪ್ಪ ಪ್ರಭುಗಾವುಂಡು* ಗಳಿಂದವೆಸೆದುಮಲ್ಲಿ ತೆಂಕಣ ಭಾಗದೂರ ನಡುವಣ ಶ್ರೀಮೂಲಸ್ಥಾನದೇವರ ದೇ-ಗುಲಮಂ ಮಾಡಿ[47]ಸಿ ದೇವರಂಗಭೋಗಕ್ಕೆ ಸ(ಶ)ಕವರ್ಷ ೯೭೧ನೆಯ ಸೌಮ್ಯಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಪುಷ್ಯ

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* As in the case of ಚಾಮುಂಡ and ಚಾವುಂಡ in line 17 above, the reading in the original here and further on may be ಗಾಮುಂಡು and ಗಾಮುಂಡ. As it is doubtful in my copy, I prefer, until I can see the original again, adopting the more usual and more probable forms ಗಾವುಂಡು and ಗಾವುಂಡ.

ಸುದ್ಧ ಪುಣ್ಣ್ಯ(ಣ್ಣಿ)ಮಿ(ಮೆ) ಸೋಮವಾರ ಸೋಮಗ್ರಹಣಮುತ್ತರಾಯಣ[48]ಸಂಕ್ರಾನ್ತಿಯಂದು ಮುಂಡೆಯರ-
ಶ್ರೀವ(ಮ)ನ್ತಗಾವುಂಡ(ಡಂ) ನೀಲಕಣ್ಠಪಣ್ಡಿತದೇವರ್ಗ್ಗೆ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವ್ವಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಪೆ(ಪ)ರಮೇಶ್ವರದತ್ತಿ ಸರ್ವ್ವ-
ನಮಶ್ಯ(ಸ್ಯ)ವಾಗಿ [49]ಬಿಟ್ಟ ಭೂಮಿಯ ಸ್ಥಳ(ಳಂ) ಮುದುವೊಳಲ ದಾರಿಯಿಂ ಬಡಗ ನವಯವ-
ಲದಿಂ ತೆಂಕ ಕಾಸಿಗಾವುಂಡನ ಬಳದಿಂ ಮೂಡ ಕರಭೂಮಿಯಿಂ ಪಡುವ [50]ಸರ್ವ್ವಮಾನ್ಯಮು(ಮುಂ) ।
ಸರ್ವ್ವ(ರ್ವ್ವ)ಬಾಧಪರಿಹಾರಮುಮಾಗಿಯಾಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕ್ಕತಾರಂ ಬರಂ ನಡವ(ವಂ)ತಾಧ(ಗಿ) ಬಿಟ್ಟ ಮತ್ತರ್ ಮೂವ-
ತ್ತಾಱಕ್ಕೆ ಲಿಂಗಮುಂ ತಪೋಧನ[51]ರುಂ ಕವಿಲೆಯುಂ ಬೆರಸು ಮಾಡಿ ನಿಱಿಸಿದ ಕಿಂನರಿಗಲ್ಲ
ಗುಡ್ಡೆ ನಾಲ್ಕು । ಮುದುವೊಳಲ ದಾರಿಯಿಂ ತೆಂಕ ಬಂನಿರಬಮ್ಮಗಾಂ(ಗಾ)ವುಣ್ಡನ ಬಳದಿಂ [52]ಬಡಗ
ಕರಭೂಮಿಯಿಂ ಮೂಡ ಕಾದಿಗಾಂ(ಗಾ)ವುಣ್ಡನ ಬಳದಿಂ ಪಡುವ ಸರ್ವ್ವನಮಸ್ಯವಾಗೆ ಮತ್ತರಾಱಕ್ಕಂ ಲಿಂಗಮುಂ
ತಪೋಧನರುಂ ಕವಿಲೆಯುಂ [53]ಬೆರಸು ಮಾಡಿ ನಿಱಿಸಿದ ಕಿನ್ನರಿಗಲ್ಲ ಗುಡ್ಡೆ ನಾಲ್ಕು । ಶಿವ್ವೇ-
ಶ್ವರದೇವರ ಕೆಯ್ಯ ಕುಮ್ಮುವಳ್ಳದಿಂ ಪಡುವ ಱೆ(?ಬಿ)ಗುರವಲದಿಂ ಮೂಡ ಕರಭೂಮಿಯಿಂ [54]-
ಬಡಗ ಮತ್ತಂ ಕರಭೂಮಿಯಿಂ ತೆಂಕ ಸ[ರ್ವ್ವ]ನಮಸ್ಯದ ಮತ್ತರಾಱಕ್ಕಂ ನಾಲ್ಕು ಗೊಂಟಗಂ ಲಿಂಗಮುಂ
ತಪೋಧನರುಂ ಕವಿಲೆಯುಂ ಬೆರ[55]ಸು ಮಾಡಿ ನಿಱಿಸಿದ ಕಿನ್ನರಿಗಲ್ಲ ಗುಡ್ಡೆ ನಾಲ್ಕು [।]
ದೇವರ ತೋಂಟದ ಸ್ಥಳ(ಳಂ) ನವರಯಕೀತಗಾವುಣ್ಡನ ವೆ(?ವೋ)ಗೆಯಿಂ ಮೂಡವ ಚವುಣ್ಡ *ಮೇಯ-
ದಣ್ಡನಾಯಕನ [56]ವೊ(?ವೋ)ಗೆಯಿಂ ಪಡುವ ಕರಭೂಮಿಯಿಂ ಬಡಗ ಬೆ(?ಬೇ)ಳ್ಗೆಹೆಯ ಬಟ್ಟೆಯಿಂ

* See note to line 17 above.

ತೆಂಕ ಸರ್ವ್ವಮಾನ್ಯದ ಕೋಂಟ ಮತ್ತರೊಂದಕ್ಕಂ ನಾಲ್ಕು ಗೊಂಟಗಂ ಲಿಂಗಮುಂ [57]ತಪೋಧ-
ನರುಂ ಕವಿಲೆಯುಂ ಬೆರಸು ಮಾಡಿ ನಿಱಿಸಿದ ಗುಡ್ಡೆ ನಾಲ್ಕು । ದೇವರ ಸಿವೇಱ(ಶ)ಣಾ(ನಂ)
ಮಂಗೇಶ್ವರದಿಂ ಬಡಗ ರಾಜವೀಥಿಯಿಂ ತೆಂಕ ಶ್ರೀ[58]ವಾಗಿಲಿಂ ಪಡುವ ಮತ್ತಂ ರಾಜವೀಥಿಯಿಂ
ಮೂಡ [॥]*

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* The inscription does not terminate here; there are two more lines of writing above the level of the floor, and evidently more below ground, but the former are very indistinct and almost illegible, and, the floor being of hard concrete, I could not remove it so as to read the remainder of the inscription.

No. I.[1]

Ôm! Reverence to Śiva! Reverence to Śambhu, who is resplendent with a *chowri* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds! Victorious is Śiva . . . .
. . . . the whole earth!

The Châḷukyavaṁśa,—the beloved of the lovely woman Fortune, the abode of the goddess of plentiful valour, possessed of an abundance of spotless fame, the support of the whole world,—was resplendent on the earth.

Some of the Châḷukya kings, praised by mankind, having in succession protected the earth with their might, Jayasiṁha,—who was born in that race, who was the choicest among the best of kings, who was of unrivalled splendour, and who purified the whole surface of the earth with the sacred streams that were his own achievements,— acquired an extensive kingdom.

After the king who was thus famous, his son Ahavamalla, the best among brave kings by reason of the pride of his arm which was renowned in the game of war[2], became the lord of the earth.

After that king, his son, Sômêśvara,—who was ardently devoted to sovereignty, who was well capable of sustaining the burden of the earth, who was celebrated for his statesmanship which was illumined by the wisdom of a tortoise united with the four means of attaining success[3], and who was formidable by reason of being endowed with fierce valour,—was glorious (under the name of) Bhuvanaikamalla, being the best among celebrated men and heroes.

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[1] This inscription is from a stone-tablet built into the wall of the portico of the temple of Kalamêśvaradêva at Narêgal in the Rôṇ Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ District. The emblems at the top of the tablet are:—In the centre, a *liṅga* effaced; to the right of it, a priest, beyond him a figure of Basava, and above them the sun or moon; and to the left of it, a crooked knife or a curved sword, beyond it a cow and calf, and above them the moon or sun effaced.

[2] This is a play upon his name,—'*âhavamalla*' meaning *he who is strong and surpasses others in battle.*

[3] The four means of success against an enemy are sowing dissension, negociation, bribery, and open attack.

After that king, his younger brother, Tribhuvanamalla,—of great prowess, equal to the Kauntêyas[4] in his might of arm, of unequalled beauty,—became the husband of the lovely woman the earth. King Pêrmâḍi[5] was resplendent in the world, so that, in the light of his commanding power, his splendour, and his majesty, there are no kings whether of earlier or of later times, who may be said to resemble him.

Hail! While the victorious reign of the prosperous Tribhuvanamalladêva[6],—the asylum of the universe, the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the most venerable, the glory of the Satyâśrayakuḷa[7], the ornament of the Châḷukyas,—was flourishing with perpetual increase so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last:—

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[4] The three elder Pâṇḍava princes, Yudhishṭhira, Bhîma, and Arjuna, who were the sons of Prithâ or Kunti, the wife of Pâṇḍu, by the gods Dharma, Vâyu, and Indra respectively.

[5] I am somewhat in doubt whether the vowel of the first syllable of this name is by nature long or short. In the Old Canarese alphabet the forms of '*e*' and '*ê*,' as also of '*o*' and '*ô*' and frequently of '*i*' and '*î*,' are precisely alike; and in the case of Canarese proper names and old words and forms it is often difficult to decide whether the particular vowel used is short or long, unless the word occurs in a metrical passage and in such a manner that the metre itself decides the quantity of the doubtful vowel. The name Pêrmâḍi is evidently connected with '*pêrme*,' *affection, fame, pride*, the vowel of the first syllable of which is, on the authority of Sanderson's dictionary, long by nature,—'*ê*', not '*e*': in line 22 of No. III we meet with the name in a corrupted form,—Hemmaḍi, just as we have '*hemme*' as the more modern form of '*pêrme*'; we also have, as intermediate forms, Pêrma in line 22 of No. II and line 9 of No. IV—Pemma in line 27 and line 29 of No. V,—and Pemmâḍi in line 48 of the same. The name may also be written Paramardi, *e. g.* in the Halsi stone-inscription (see page 279, line 5, of Vol. IX, No. XXVII, of the Society's Journal) and probably in line 14 of No. IV of the present inscriptions. The forms given in Prof. Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary are Parmâḍi and Parmâṇḍi; in this case the '*a*' must stand for an original short '*e*.' But wherever I have met with the name Pêrmâḍi in inscriptions in the Kâyastha or Grantha characters, the '*ê*' is retained and is of course long. With regard to the failure of the Old Canarese alphabet to distinguish between the forms of '*e*' and '*ê*' and of '*o*' and '*ô*', I may mention that the same occurs frequently in Canarese MSS. of any age, even though the oldest characters are not used,—and especially in metrical passages, where the indication afforded by a knowledge of the metre is supposed to be sufficient to save the writer the trouble of adding the distinguishing mark of the long vowel; it is probably the laxity on this point that leads many native scholars to mispronounce one of the endings of the Old Canarese locative, in reading, for instance, '*kârmeyôḷ*' instead of '*kârmeyoḷ*'; a reference to any metrical passage, not to mention any authoritative grammar, would teach them that this ending,—'*oḷ*', is short, and it is of course a remnant of '*oḷa*' or of '*oḷage*,' *within*.

[6] The Châlukya king Vikramâditya II, Śaka 998—1049; Sir W. Elliot.

[7] 'Satyâśraya,' *he in whom truth is inherent*, was the name acquired by the Châlukya king Pulikêśi I or Pulikêśi II, and the Châlukya family is hence called the Satyâśraya-kula.

The kings of the Sinda race,—who were the devoted adherents of the Châḷukya family, who were the preceptors of excessively valorous deportment, who were specially fit for war, whose pure and renowned actions were worthy to be praised throughout the world, who were the bravest men on the earth, who were well acquainted with those sciences that should be learned by unrivalled warriors, and who were possessed of fierce courage,—were resplendent.

Born in that race, of great prowess, acquainted with many accomplishments, possessed of an arm that was very violent in conquering the hostile rulers of the earth, the foremost of rising warriors, the most excellent of chieftains, performing achievements that enhanced the glory and the prosperity of the Sinda race,—king Âchugi acquired fame. Being of unequalled courage, he attained, in the very presence of the Châḷukya king, the pinnacle of greatness among those who sound the trumpet of their firm determination; if you reflect upon it, then, can any other warriors be likened to king Âchugi?

The younger brothers of that same king Âchugi who was thus famous were king Nâka, king Siṅga, king Dâsa, king Dâva, king Chauṇḍa, and king Châva, who were resplendent, being eminent in respect of their good qualities. Amongst them king Châvuṇḍa[8],—who was impetuous in war, the might of whose arm excelled in causing fear to all his enemies, and who was the abode of the goddess of fame,—was glorious in being the abiding-place of the glory of sovereignty.

After that king who has been thus described, king Bamma, the son of king Âchugi, was glorious, becoming through the might of his arm the favourite of the lovely woman Absolute Sovereignty, being pre-ēminent among kings who are formidable in battle, the supreme lord of kings and princes, eager as a bee in enjoying the lotus which is the condition of prosperity, a very ocean of good qualities, foremost amongst those who have acquired as an ornament for their ears the commendations of learned men.

After that king, Âchugidêva,—the abode of merit, possessed of an acquaintance with the science of arms that was renowned in the world, the best of chieftains,—was esteemed the lord of the woman Sovereignty. Having taken many forts, having resisted those who, defiled with

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[8] See note * to line 17 of the text.

pride, attacked and pursued such kings as bowed down before him (and thus were his allies and tributaries), having taken possession of the territories of the hostile kings, and having charmingly acquired that power which results from pleasing and virtuous actions, king Âcha, the lover of the lovely woman Fortune, the abiding-place of all happiness, became very famous. At the command of the universal emperor Vikrama, he, a very lion in war and shining like the hot-rayed sun, sounding his war-cry, pursued and prevailed against Poysala, took Gôve, put to flight Lakshma in war, valorously followed after Pâṇḍya, dispersed at all times the Malapas[9], and seized upon the Koṅkaṇa. The wife of king Âcha, the great chieftain who was known to be thus intent upon the observances of religion:—A most virtuous

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9 'Malavarammâri,'—a hybrid formation; '*Malavara*' (or '*Malapara*') being the genitive of the Canarese nominative plural '*Malavaru*' (or '*Malaparu*'), and '*mâri*' being the Canarese form of the Sanskrit '*mârin*,' *a slayer*,—is one of the titles of the later Kâdamba chieftains of Goa; thus it is given to Jayakêśî III on the seal of the large Halsi copper-plate (see page 230 of Vol. IX, No. XXVII, of the Society's Journal), and to Śivachitta at the end of the Dêgâṁve inscription No. I (see page 271 of the same), and the coins in which the grants of Jayakêśî III were reckoned are called 'Malavaramâri-nishka' (see pp. 243-4 of the same). The pure Canarese equivalent, '*Malaparol-gaṇḍa*,' is one of the titles applied to the Hoysaḷa king Vîraballâḷadêva in line 32 of No. II of the Gadak inscriptions (see page 300 of the *Indian Antiquary* for October 1873). Four possible explanations of the title were suggested by me at page 246 of the above-mentioned Number of the Society's Journal; fuller information enables me now to submit the following explanation as probably the correct one. In either form the title means 'the slayer or punisher of the Malavaru.' There is a division of the Liṅgâyats, called the Malavaru, which is to be found only in the country lying along the Western Ghauts; they are people of some wealth and position, and they intermarry only among themselves. They are to be met with especially at Banawâsi, Saundâ, Śirsi, Indûr near Mundagôḍ, Bânḍawaḍi, and Puṅganûr. The Village-headmen of Indûr and of Ekkambi near Śirsi are Malavas. It is one of the Malavas of Indûr who is the head of the Bânḍawaḍi Saṁsthâna, and his wife is from one of the Malava families of Puṅganûr; he styles himself '*arasa*' or *king*, as also does the head of the Puṅganûr family to which his wife belongs. The Malavas are also mentioned by Dr. Buchanan, who, in describing the country in the neighbourhood of Banawâsi, states (Vol. II, p. 378) that most of the village-headmen are Malavas and that they are a low class of Śivabhaktas. There is little doubt that these Malavas are the descendants of a once powerful race of Ghaut chieftains who took their name from the country that was subject to them,—the Malanâḍu or hilly and wooded country lying along the Western Ghauts, now called the 'Malnâḍa' or 'Malâḍa-dêśa' as distinguished from the 'Bailu-sîme' or open plains to the east. It should be noticed that the title "Malavara-mâri" or 'Malaparoḷ-gaṇḍa' is applied to kings and chieftains whose territorial position was such as to bring them into collision with the people of the Ghauts, and that it is not assumed by others whose position was too far to the north and east for this. For a popular description of the Malanâḍu see the Canarese verses of Sarvajña translated by the Rev. F. Kittel at page 23 of the *Indian Antiquary* for January 1873.

wife, of spotless conduct, abounding with most pious actions, Mahâdêvî acquired the fame of being called the best among the consorts of such chieftains as are the most excellent in the world.

To Mâdêvi, who was thus glorious, and to king Âcha, who was esteemed the best of kings who are praised by mankind, was born king Pêrmâḍi, as if it were the birth of joy to all mankind. Conquering the cities of his brave foes, vanquishing numbers of kings intoxicated with pride, possessed of many countries acquired by his arm, menacing the fierce dawning might of hostile kings, avoiding that sin which springs from the influence of the Kali age[10], performing great achievements against his enemies whose thunderings were silenced, a very sun to (disperse) the darkness which was (the inimical) great chieftains,—such was Pêrmâḍidêva. Men wondered at king Pêrmâḍi on account of his pious actions which were, amongst other things, his pure deeds, his ablutions, his worship of the gods, his sacrifices, his liberal charities, the number of his vows, and the respect paid by him to Brâhmaṇs, to religious preceptors, and to holy men, on account of his acquaintance with the sacred writings which treat of religion, on account of his gifts of all kinds of sacred food, and on account of his delight in holding assemblies that were made charming by listening to many excellent new poems. And, as each day passed profitably by, he, being of a sportive disposition and resembling a second Bhôja[11], enjoyed contentment arising from his excellent pursuits and from his happiness with the lovely woman Sovereignty.

Hail! While the fortunate Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara king Pêrmâḍidêva,—who was adorned with the titles commencing with 'The Great Chieftain who has attained the five *Mahâśabdas*[12]; he who is the lord of the goddess of generosity and bravery; he who is the sun of the white lotuses of the Sindakuḷa; he who is a very Kâmadêva[13] among chieftains; he who, mounted on restive horses, is skilled in training

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[10] The present or iron age, the age of vice, the last of the four ages of the world.

[11] A prince who according to tradition was a great patron of learning.

[12] Probably five titles commencing with the word '*mahâ*' (*mahat*'), *great*, such as 'Mahârâja', 'Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara', &c.

[13] In the original 'Kusumakôdaṇḍa,' *he whose bow is made up of flowers;* his bow is fabled to be made of flowers, a row of black bees is the string of it, and each of his five arrows has for its tip a blossom that is supposed to exercise a special influence over one or other of the five senses.

them to perfection; he who is possessed of characteristic marks that are completely auspicious; he who is praised by poets, by wits, and by orators; he who is the receptacle of a number of good qualities; he who has for the ornament of his ears the listening to the Śaiva traditions; he who is the support of all learned men; he who is the preceptor of inexhaustible benefits to others; he who is brave even without any one to help him; he who is as conversant as Chânakya[14] with the many expedients of the art of government; he who never breaks his word; he who is well versed in the science of arms and other excellent accomplishments; he who is the leader in the battle-field; he who is a very Saṁkrandana [15] in enjoying all objects of enjoyment; he who is a very Ravinandana [16] in respect of his complete liberality; he who is a very Triṇêtra[17] to (destroy) numbers of forts of many kinds; he whose achievements are like those of the first of kings[18]; he who is a very cage of thunderbolts to (protect) those who take refuge with him; who is as one of the elephants of the quarters among chieftains[19]; he who delights in enjoying the sentiments of poetry and singing; he who has acquired the excellent favour of the deity of the original shrine',—impartially punishing the wicked and protecting the good was ruling, at his capital of Rambarage[20], with the diversion of joyful conversations, the Kisukâḍu Seventy, the Kêlavâḍi Three-hundred, the Bâgaḍige[21] Seventy, and the Narayaṅgal[22] Twelve,—and, preserving the ancient faiths, was manifesting his tenderness in saying, whenever any religious occasion presented itself, that every religion should have its deed of gift:—

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[14] The minister of Chandragupta and reputed author of a work on morals and the principles of administration.

[15] Indra.

[16] Karṇa, the son of Kunti by the Sun, before her marriage with Pâṇḍu, and so the elder half-brother of the Pâṇḍava princes. He was renowned for his generosity.

[17] The three-eyed Śiva who destroyed the three strong cities of gold, silver, and iron, in the sky, air, and earth, of a celebrated demon.

[18] '*Âdirâja*,' *the first king*;—Manu, or Pṛithu.

[19] *i.e.* 'who is a most excellent and brave chieftain.'

[20] In No. II, line 34, the name is spelt Rambirage.

[21] In No. II, line 33, and in No. V, line 54, the name is spelt Bâgaḍage; in No. IV, line 11, it occurs again as Bâgaḍige.

[22] Other forms of the name in the present inscriptions are Narеyaṅgal, Narayagal, Nareyagal, and Narigal. Possibly the etymology is '*nariya-kal (kallu)*', *the stone of the jackal*.

The radiant country of Kuntaḷa is esteemed the chief ornament of the land of Bharata in the world which is encircled by the ocean; and in it Narayagal, laden with fruits, is very charming. Very lovely is it with its flower-gardens which diffuse many divine odours, with its cool tanks which confer the most exquisite pleasures, with its numberless groves, and with its rice and other juicy grains, the fragrance of which pervades the regions; charming is it to travellers, and best in the whole earth, and very much to be sought after.

On the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, when the sun was commencing his progress to the north, on Monday, the day of the full-moon of the bright fortnight of the month Pushya of the Saumya *saṁvatsara*, being the year of the Śaka 872, Muṇḍeyara-Śrîmanta-gâvuṇḍa[23],—having caused Prabhugâvuṇḍu[23], who was intent upon maintaining religion and was a man of innumerable pious deeds in the two parties[24] of Narayaṅgal, which was thus charming, to build a temple of the deity of the original shrine in the middle of the southern part of the village,—gave to Nîlakaṇṭhapaṇḍitadêva, with libations of water, for the *aṅgabhôga* of the god, some land which was a grant to be respected by all and an offering to (the god) Paramêśvaradêva, and the locality of which is:—Four heaps of stones above graves[25] of Kiṁ-Narigal[26], together with (stones bearing the emblems of) a *liṅga* and ascetics and a cow, were set up (as boundary-marks) to the thirty-six *mattars* (of land) which were allotted, free of all rent and free from all opposing claims, to be continued as long as the moon and sun and stars might last, to the N. of the road to Muduvoḷal[27], to the S. of (the field of) Navayavala, to the E. of the rent-free service-land of Vâsigâvuṇḍa, and to the W. of some land on which revenue was paid. Four heaps of stones above graves of Kiṁ-Narigal, together with (stones bearing the emblems of) a *liṅga* and ascetics and

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[23] See note * to line 46 of the text.

[24] '*Baḷa*'; see note 45 to No. VII of the Raṭṭa Inscriptions at page 285 of Vol. X, No. XXIX, of the Society's Journal. Both the meanings of '*baḷa*' are illustrated in the present inscription.

[25] '*Guḍḍe*'; see note 17 to the translation of No. III of the Raṭṭa Inscriptions referred to above.

[26] Kiṁ-Narigal, Kiṟu-Narigal, Kir-Narigal, or Kiri-Narigal is the smaller or more modern Narigal as distinguished from Hiri-Narigal or Hiriya-Narigal, the larger or elder Narigal. The modern terms are '*Hiri*' and '*Chikka*,' as Hiri-Bâgewâḍi and Chikka-Bâgewâḍi.

[27] Probably the modern Mudhôḷ, the chief town of the Native State of the same name in the Southern Maratta Country.

a cow, were set up (as boundary-marks) to six *mattars*, that were made a grant to be respected by all, to the S. of the road to Muduvoḷal, to the N. of the rent-free service-land of Bannira-Bammagâvuṇḍa, to the E. of some land on which revenue was paid, and to the W. of the rent-free service-land of Kâdigavuṇḍa. Four heaps of stones above graves of Kin-Narigal, together with (stones bearing the emblems of) a *liṅga* and ascetics and a cow, were set up at the four corners (as boundary-marks) to six *mattars*, that were made a grant to be respected by all, to the W. of Kuyyavaḷḷa which was the cultivated land of (the god) Tippêśvaradêva, to the E. of (the field of) Chiguravala, to the N. of some land on which revenue was paid, and to the S. of another plot of ground on which revenue was paid.

The site of the garden-land of the god:—Four heaps of stones above graves, together (with stones bearing the emblems of) a *liṅga* and ascetics and a cow, were set up at the four corners (as boundary-marks) to one *mattar* of garden-land, that was made free of all rent, to the E. of the *mōge*[28] of Navayara-Kîtagâvuṇḍa, to the W. of the *mōge* of the Daṇḍanâyaka Chavuṇḍamêya[29], to the N. of some land on which revenue was paid, and to the S. of the road to Bĕḷgeṟe.

The shrine of the god is to the N. of (the temple of the god) Maṅgêśvara, to the S. of the king's highway, to the W. of the gate called Śrîvagilu, and to the E. of another king's highway . . . . [30].

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[28] I have not been able to obtain any explanation of this word as applied to land. The only meanings given to it in Sanderson's dictionary are, as a verb, *to bale or scoop out water*, and, as a substantive, *a small earthen cup or vessel*. It must denote here some kind of service-lands.

[29] See note * to line 55 of the text.

[30] See note * to line 58 of the text.

16*

No. II.

[1]ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗಶಿರಶ್ಚುಂಬಿಚಂದ್ರಚಾಮರಚಾರವೇ [।] ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯನಗರಾರಂಭಮೂಲಸ್ತಂಭಾಯ ಶಾಂ(ಶಂ)ಭವೇ ॥

[2]ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತಭುವನಾಶ್ರಯಂ ಶ್ರೀಪಿ(ಪೃ)ಥ್ವೀವಲ್ಲಭ ಮಹಾರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜ ಪರಮೇಶ್ವರ ಪರಮಭಟ್ಟಾರಕ ಸತ್ಯಾಶ್ರಯ[3]ಕುಳತಿಳಕ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯಾಭರಣ ಶ್ರೀಮಜ್ಜಗದೇಕಮಲ್ಲದೇವ[ರ] * ವಿಜಯರಾಜ್ಯಮುತ್ತರೋತ್ತರಾಭಿವಿ(ವೃ)-ದ್ಧಿಪ್ರವರ್ಧ(ರ್ಧ)[4]ಮಾನಮಾಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕತಾರಂ ಬರಂ ಸಲುತ್ತಮಿರೆ ॥ ತತ್ಪಾದಪದ್ಮೋಪಜೀವಿ ॥ ಸಮ-ಧಿಗತಪಂಚಮಹಾಶಬ್ದ[5]ಮಹಾಮಂಡಳೇಶ್ವರಂ ಮದಾ(ದಾಂ)ಧಮಣ್ಡಳಿಕಮಂ(ಮ)ದನಮಹೇಶ್ವರಂ । ವೈರಿವಾರಣಘಟ-ವಿಘಟನೋರುಕ(ಕಂ)ಠಕಂಠೀರವಂ [6]ಸಾಹಸರಸಾರ್ಣ್ಣವಂ । ಜಗ್ಗಗೋಧೂಪ(ಮ)ಘಟ್ಟಾಟರಟ್ಟಂ ಹಲ್ಲಕವಡಿಕೆಯ ಶಿಂಗನ ದಿಶಾಪಟ್ಟಂ । ನೀತಿಸೀಮ[7]ನ್ತಿನೀಶೃಂಗಾರಮಣಿದರ್ಪ್ಪಣಂ ಶಿಷ್ಟಜನಾನೀಕಸಂತರ್ಪ್ಪಣಂ । ಅನಣುಕರುಣಾರಸವಿಶಿಷ್ಟವಿಜಿತಜೀಮೂ[8]ತವಾಹನನುಂ । ಸಕಲಕಲಾಪುಂಜಕಂಜಾಸನನುಮಪ್ಪ ಆಚರಸರ್ ॥ ಪಲವಾ ದುರ್ಗ್ಗಂಗಳಂ ಕೊಂಡ(ಡು) [ವಿ][9]ನತನೃಪರಂ ತೊಳ್ದು ಬೆಂಕೊಂಡು(ಡ) ದರ್ಪ್ಪವಿಳರಂ ಮಾಕ್ಕೊ-(ಕ್ಕೊಂ)ಡರಾತಿಕ್ಷಿತಿಪತಿಗಳ ದೇಶಂಗಳಂ ಕೂಡೆ ಕೈಕೊಂಡು ಅ[10]ಸತ್ಪುಣ್ಯಕ್ರಿಯಾಸಂಭವವಿಭವಮನಂತೊಟ್ಟತ-(ತಂ)ಗೊಂಡು ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಲಲನಾಕಾನ್ತ(ನ್ತಂ) ಸಮಂತಾಚರಸನಖಿಳಖ್ಯಾಸ್ಪ[11]ದಂ ಖ್ಯಾತನಾದಂ ॥ ಚಂಡಾಂ-ಶುಪ್ರತಿಭಾಸಿ ಭೊಮ್ಸಳನನಾರ್ದ್ದೆರ್ವ್ವಟ್ಟಿ[ದಂ ಗೋ]ವೆಯುಂ ಕೊಂಡಂ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಣನಾಜಿಯೊಳ್ [12]ತವಿಸಿದ(ದಂ)

* Omitted in the original.

ವಿಕ್ರಾಂತದಿವ್ಯೈದೆ ಬೆಂಕೊಣ್ಡಂ ಪಾಂಡ್ಯನನಾವಗಂ ಮಲಪರಂ [ತೂ]ಳ್ದಟ್ಟಿದಂ ಕೊಂಕಣಂಗೊಂಡಂ ವಿಕ್ರಮ-
ಚಕ್ರ[13]ವರ್ತ್ತಿ ಬೆಸಸಲ್ ಸಂಗ್ರಾಮಕಂಠೀರವಂ || ತತ್ಪುತ್ರ || ಜಿತವೀರದ್ವಿಟ್ಪುರ(ರಂ) ನಿರ್ಜ್ಜಿತಸಮ-
ದಮಹೀನಾಥಯೂ[14]ಥ(ಥಂ) ಭುಜೋಪಾರ್ಜ್ಜಿತನಾನಾಮಂಡಳಂ ತರ್ಜ್ಜಿತರಿಪುನೃಪತೀಬ್ರ(ವ್ರ)ಪ್ರತಾಪೋದಯಂ ವರ್ಜ್ಜಿತಕಾಳೀ-
ಯಪ್ರಭಾ[15]ವಪ್ರಭವಕಲುಷನಸ್ಫೂರ್ಜ್ಜಿತಪಾಪಾತಿರೇಕೋರ್ಜ್ಜಿತಚಾರಿತ್ರಂ ಮಹಾಮಂಡಳಿಕತಿಮಿರಚಂಡಾಂಶು ಪೆರ್ಮ್ಮಾ[16]-
ಡಿದೇವಂ || ಅನತಕ್ಷ್ಮಾಪಾಳಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಕುಮುದಿನಿ ಮುಗಿಯಲ್ ಪಿಂಗಲುತ್ಕ್ರಿ(ಕೃ)ಷ್ಟವಿದ್ವಜ್ಜನದಾರಿದ್ರಾಂದ(ಧ)ಕಾರಂ
ಮ[17]ಸುಳಲಿತರರಾಜಪ್ರಭಾವಂ ಸ್ವಪಾದಾತ್ತನೃಪಾಸ್ಯಾಂಭೋರುಹಂ [ಬಿ]ತ್ತರಿಸಲಖಿಳದಿಗ್ಮಂಡಳವ್ಯೋಮಸೀ[18]ಮಾವನಿ-
ಯಂ ಪರ್ವ್ವ(?ವಿರ್ವ್ವ)ತ್ತಣಾಂ ಸಿಂದಕುಳಕಮಳಮಾರ್ತ್ತಂಡತೀಬ್ರ(ವ್ರ)ಪ್ರತಾಪಂ || ತಲೆಗೊಂಡಂ ಕುಲಶೇಖರಾಂಕನ
ಪೊಡರ್ಪ್ಪಿಂ [19]ಚಟ್ಟನಂ ಮುತ್ತಿ ಬಾಳ್ದಲೆಗೊಂಡಂ ಜಯಕೇಶಿಯಂ ಬೆದಱೆ ಬೆಂಕೊಂಡಂ ಪ್ರಚಂಡಾವನೀ-
ತಳನಾಥಾಗ್ರಣಿಯಪ್ಪ ಪೊಯ್ಸಳ[20]ನ ರಾಜ್ಯಶ್ರೀಯನೀಳ್ಕೊಂಡನಸ್ಖಳಿತಂ ತಾನೆನೆ ರೂಡಿವೆತ್ತನಿಳೆಯೊಳ್ ಪೆರ್ಮ್ಮಾ-
ಡಿಭೂಪಾಲಕ(ಕಂ) [|| ಎ]ಸೆಯಲ್ ಬಿಟ್ಟಿಗ[21]ನಿದ್ದ ಕೊಳ್ಳಿಗನ ಘಟ್ಟಕೆ(ಕ್ಕೆ)ಯ್ದಿ ಧಾಳಿಟ್ಟು ಧೋ-
ರಸಮುದ್ರಕ್ಕೆದಿರೆತ್ತಿ ಬೇಲುಪುರಮಂ ಕೊಂಡಸ್ತಿ ಬೆಂಬತ್ತಿ ಖಡ್ಗಸಹಾಯಂ [22]ತಗಳುತ್ತ ವಾಹಡಿಯ
ಘಟ್ಟಂ ಮುಟ್ಟಿತಳ್ತಡ್ಡಿ ಕೊಂದು ಸುತೇಜಂ ಮಿಗೆ ಪೆರ್ಮ್ಮಭೂಪತಿ ಜಗದ್ವಿಖ್ಯಾತಿ[23]ಯಂ ತಾಳ್ದಿದಂ ||
ಬಿಟ್ಟಿಗನೃಪಾಳನೊಡನಿಱಿವಿಟ್ಟಿಗೆವ(ವಾ)ದರಸುಗೆಳೆಗಳಂ ರಣದೊಳ್ ತಳ್ತಟ್ಟಿ ಪಿಡಿದಾನೆ[24]ಯನಿತುಮಣಾಳ್ದುಜಿಯಿಖಂ ತಂ-
ದನಸಮಸಾಹಸತುಂಗ(ಗಂ) || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಧಿಗತಪಂಚಮಹಾಶಬ್ದಮ[25]ಹಾಮಂಡಳೇಶ್ವರಂ | ಉದಾರವೀ-
ರಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಶ್ವರಂ | ಸಿಂಧಕುಳಕಮಳಮಾರ್ತ್ತಂಡ | ಮಂಡಳಿಕಕುಸುಮಕೋದಣ್ಡ [|] ಸೂ(ಶೂ)[26]-

ಕಳಹಯಾರೂಢಪ್ರೌಢಶಿಕ್ಷಾವಿಚಕ್ಷಣ । ಪರಿಪೂರ್ಣ್ಣಶುಭಲಕ್ಷಣ । ಕವಿಗಮಕವಾದಿವಾಗ್ಮಿ[27]ಜನಸಂಸ್ತೂಯ-
ಮಾನ . [।] ಗುಣಗಣನಿಧಾನ । ಶಿವಾಗಮಸಮಾಕರ್ಣ್ಣನಕರ್ಣ್ಣಪೂರ । ಸಕಳವಿದ್ವಜ್ಜನಾಧಾರ ।
[28]ಅ(ಅ)ಪಾರಪರಹಿತಾಚಾರ್ಯ್ಯ । ಅಸಹಾಯಸೌ(ಶೌ)ರ್ಯ್ಯ । ನಾನಾನಯೋಪಾಯನಿಪುಣಚಾಣಕ್ಯ ।
[29]ಅಚಳಿತವಾಕ್ಯ । ಶಸ್ತ್ರಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಾದಿಸಕಳಕಳಾಪ್ರವೀಣ । ರಣಾಂಗಣಧುರೀಣ । ಭೋಗೋಪಭೋಗಸಂಕ್ರಂ-
[30]ದನ । ಅನೂನದಾನರವಿನಂದನ । ಅನೇಕವಿಧದುರ್ಗ್ಗವರ್ಗ್ಗತ್ರಿಣೇತ್ರ । ಆದಿರಾಜಚರಿತ್ರ ।
ಶರಣಾ[31]ಗತವಜ್ರಪಂಜರ । ಮಂಡಳಿಕದಿಕ್ಕುಂಜರ । ಕಾವ್ಯಗೀತರಸಾನುಭವವಿನೋದ [।] ಶ್ರೀಶಂ-
ಕರದೇವಲಬ್ಧವರಪ್ರಸಾ[32]ದಾದಿನಾಮಾವಳೀವಿರಾಜಿತರಪ್ಪ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾಮಣ್ಡಳೇಶ್ವರಂ ಪೆರ್ಮ್ಮಾಡಿದೇವರಸರ್ ಕಿಸುಕಾಡೆ-
ಪ್ಪತ್ತುಂ ಕೆ(?ಕೇ)ಳವಾಡಿ[33]ಮೂನೂಱುಂ ಬಾಗಡಗೆಯ(ಯೆ)ಪ್ಪತ್ತುಂ ನರೆಯಂಗಲ್ಪನ್ನೆರಡುಮನಿ(ನ್ನಿ)ನಿತಱುಭಯಸಾಮ್ಯಮಂ
ದುಷ್ಟನಿಗ್ರಹವಿ[34]ಶಿಷ್ಟಪ್ರತಿಪಾಳನೆಯಿಂದೆ ರಂಬಿರಗೆಯ ನೆಲವೀಡಿನೊಳ್ ಸುಖಸಂಕಥಾವಿನೋದದಿಂ ರಾಜ್ಯಂ-
ಗೆಯ್ಯುತ್ತಮಿ[35]ರೆ ॥ ಜಳನಿಧಿಪರಿವೃತವಸುಧಾತಳದೊಳ್ ಭರತೋರ್ವ್ವಿಗೆಸೆವ ಕುಂತಳದೇಶಂ ತಿಳಕಮೆನಿಸಿ-
ರ್ದ್ದುವದಱೊಳ್ ಫಳ[36]ಭರಿತಂ ನರಯಂ(ಯ)ಗಲ್ ಕರಂ ರಂಜಿಸುಗುಂ ॥ ವಚನ ॥ ಅಂತು
ಸೊಗಯಿಸುವ ನರೆಯಂಗಲ್ಲ ತೆಂಕಣ ಭಾಗದ ಹಿರಿಯ[37]ಹನ್ನಸಿನ ತಿಪ್ಪಣಯ್ಯನಾಯಕರ್ ತಿಪ್ಪ-
ಣೇಶ್ವರದೇವರ್ಗ್ಗೆ ತನ್ನ ಹನ್ನಸಿನ ಬಳಬೊಳಗೆ ಸ(ಶ)ಕವರ್ಷ ೧೦೭೨ನೆಯ [38]ಸಾಧಾರಣಸಂವತ್ಸರದ
ಕಾರ್ತ್ತಿಕದಮವಾಸ್ಯೆ ಬ್ರಿ(ಬೃ)ಹಸ್ಪತಿವಾರದಂದಿನ ಸೂರ್ಯ್ಯಗ್ರಹ[39]ಣದೊಳ್ ತ್ರಿಳೋಚನಪಂಡಿತರ್ಗ್ಗೆ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವ್ವ-
ಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಅಱುವಣದ ಮತ್ತಮರ್ಮ್ಮವತ್ತು[40]ಮಂ ಕುಂ(ಕು)ಯ್ಯಬಳ್ಳದಿಂ ಮೂಡ

ಮುಃತ್ರಪಾದಹೊಲವಟ್ಟಯಿಂ ಬಡಗ ತೆನೆಯಬೞದಿ(ದಿಂ) ತೆಂಕ ನಾಲ್ಕು ಗೊಂಟ್ಟಿಗಂ ಲಿಂ[41]ಗಮುಂ ತಪೋಧನರುಂ ಕವಿಲೆಯುಂ ಬೆರಸು ಮಾಡಿ ನಿಱಿಸಿದ ಕಿನ್ನರಿಗಲ್ಲು ಗುಡ್ಡೆ ನಾಲ್ಕು || ದೇವರ ನಿವೇ[42]ಶಣಾಂ(ನಂ) ಶ್ರೀವಾಗಿಲಿಂ ಮೂಡ ಕೋಟೆಯಿಂ ಪಡುವ ಗವುಣ್ಡಬೞದಿ(ದಿಂ) ಬಡಗ ರಾಜಬೀದಿಯಿಂ ತೆಂಕ ನಾಲ್ಕು ಗೊಂಟ್ಟ[43]ಗಂ ಕಿಂನರಿಗಲ್ಲು ಗುಡ್ಡೆ ನಾಲ್ಕು । ದೇವರ್ಗ್ಗೆ ಶಿಪ್ಪಣಯ್ಯ(ಯ್ಯಂ) ಬಿಟ್ಟ ಗಾಣ ೧ [।] ಜಕಿಲೆಯ ಬಟ್ಟೆಯಿಂ ಮೂಡ ಶ್ರೀ[44]ಆಬೇಶ್ವರಮಾನ್ಯದಿ(ದಿಂ) ತೆಂಕ ಮಾನ್ಯದ ತೋಂಟ ಮತ್ತ[ರ್]* ೧ಕ್ಕಂ ಕಿಂನರಿಗಲ್ಲು ಗುಡ್ಡೆ ನಾಲ್ಕು [।] ಜಕಿಲೆಯ ಬಟ್ಟೆಯಿಂ [45]ಪಡುವ ಸೊ(?ಸೋ;ಶೊ?,ಶೋ?)ಬ(ಭ?)ಗೇಶ್ವರ ತೋಂಟದಿಂ ಬಡಗ ದೇವಗಾವುಂಡಂ† ಬಿಟ್ಟ ಮಾನ್ಯದ ತೋಂಟ ಮತ್ತ[ರ್]* ೧ಕ್ಕಂ ಕಿಂನರಿಗಲ್ಲು ಗುಡ್ಡೆ [46]ನಾಲ್ಕು [||] ಯ(ಎ)ನಿಪರ್ಮ್ಮಮನಲ್ಲಿಯ(ಎನಿಪೀ ಧರ್ಮ್ಮಮನಲ್ಲಿಯ) ಪದಿನಱುವರು(ರುಂ) । ಪದಿನೆಣ್ಬರು(ರುಂ) । ಪಂಚಮಠಸ್ಥಾನಮುಮಿದ್ದಾರ್ಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕ್ಕಸ್ಥಾಯಿ [47]ಬರಂ ಪ್ರತಿಪಾಳಿಸುವರ್ |(||) ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ಜಗದೇಕಮಲ್ಲಪೆರ್ಮ್ಮಾಡಿದೇವರಸರ್. ಯಿ(ಇ)ನ್ತೀ ಧರ್ಮ್ಮಮಂ [48]ವಿಚಾರಿಸಿ‡

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* In each case this letter has been omitted altogether in the original, no space being left at all for it in the original; the correct form of the word, whether singular or plural, is ಮತ್ತರ್.

† See note to line 46 of No. I.

‡ The inscription does not terminate here; there are four more lines of writing above the level of the floor, but, the inscription being in the interior of the temple, the only aperture of which is the small door-way, the light is very indifferent, and, the floor being of hard concrete, I could not remove it so as to get into a better position for reading the remainder.

No. II.[1]

Reverence to Śambhu, who is resplendent with a *chowri* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds!

Hail! While the victorious reign of the prosperous Jagadêkamalladêva[2],—the asylum of the universe, the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the most venerable, the glory of the Satyâśrayakuḷa, the ornament of the Châḷukyas,—was flourishing with perpetual increase so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last, he[3] who subsisted (as a bee) on the lotuses which were his feet (was as follows):—

(There was) king Âcha, the Great Chieftain who attained the five *Mahâśabdas;* he who was a very Mahêśvara[4] (in dealing destruction) to the god of love in the form of chieftains blinded with pride; he who was like a strong-throated lion in striking the foreheads of the elephants which were his enemies; he who was a very ocean of the quality of impetuosity; he who was a very hand-mill for grinding the wheat which was (the race of) Jaggu; he who was the sovereign of the country of the lion of Hallakavaḍike; he who was a very jewelled mirror for the embellishment of the lovely woman the Art of Government; he who made happy crowds of good people; he who eminently surpassed Jîmûtavâhana[5] in the quality of all-embracing compassion; he who was a very Kaṁjâsana[6] in respect of the multitude of his acquirements. Having taken many forts, having resisted those who, defiled with pride, attacked and pursued such kings as bowed down

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[1] This inscription is from a stone-tablet built into the wall inside the temple of Tripurântakadêva at Narêgal in the Rôṇ Tâlukâ of the Dhârwaḍ District. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre a *linga;* to the right of it, a priest, and, beyond him, a cow and calf; to the left of it, a figure of Basava.

[2] Śaka 1060—1072; Sir W. Elliot.

[3] *Sc.* Pêrmâḍi, who is first mentioned in the verse beginning in line 13, and not his father Âcha or Âchugi, whose name intervenes by way of an introduction.

[4] Śiva; the allusion is to the reduction of Kâmadêva to ashes by Śiva when he tried to inflame him with love for Pârvatî.

[5] 'He who rides upon the clouds,' Indra.

[6] Brahma,—'he whose seat is the lotus' which sprang from the navel of Vishṇu.

before him (and thus were his allies and tributaries), having taken possession of the territories of the hostile kings, and having charmingly acquired that power that springs from pleasing and virtuous actions, king Âcha, the lover of the lovely woman Fortune, the abiding-place of all happiness, became very famous. At the command of the universal emperor Vikrama, he, a very lion in war and shining like the hot-rayed sun, sounding his war-cry, pursued and prevailed against Poysaḷa, took Gôve, put to flight Lakshma in war, valorously followed after Pâṇḍya, dispersed at all times the Malapas, and seized upon the Koṅkaṇa.

His son :—Conquering the cities of his brave foes, vanquishing numbers of kings intoxicated with pride, possessed of many countries acquired by his arm, menacing the fierce dawning might of hostile kings, avoiding that sin which springs from the influence of the Kali age, performing great achievements against his enemies whose thunderings were silenced, a very sun to (disperse) the darkness which was (the inimical) great chieftains,—such was Pêrmâḍidêva. Possessing the fierce heat of the sun of the white lotuses of the Sindakuḷa,—so that the blue lotuses of the regal fortunes of kings who bent not down before him closed their flowers, so that the darkness which was the poverty of excellent and learned men faded away, so that the white lotuses which were the faces of such kings as came to his feet began to expand while the majesty of other kings grew dim, and so that he pervaded the whole earth which is bounded by the quarters of the regions and the sky,—king Pêrmâḍi vanquished Kulaśêkharâṅka, gloriously besieged Chaṭṭa and took his head with a sword (to behead him), alarmed and pursued Jayakêsi, seized upon the royal power of Poysaḷa who was the foremost of fierce rulers of the earth, and acquired the reputation of being himself proof against all reverses. Going to the mountain-passes of the marauder Biṭṭiga, plundering him, besieging Dhôrasamudra, and, pursuing him till he arrived at and took the city of Bêlupura, king Pêrma[7], of great glory,—driving him before him with the help of his sword, arriving at the mountain-pass of Vâhaḍi, and overcoming all obstacles,—acquired celebrity in the world. Pursuing and seizing in war the friends, (mighty) as elephants (though they were), of the kings who joined king Biṭṭiga in the work of slaughter,

[7] The name Pêrmâḍi occurs in this form also in line 9 of No. IV and again in line 3 of the Gulbaḷḷi inscription published at page 296 of Vol. IX, No. XXVII of the Society's Journal.

(Pêrmâḍi,) unequalled in his great impetuousity, brought them (back as captives) with derisive cheers.[8]

Hail! While the fortunate Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara king Pêrmâḍidêva,—who was adorned with the titles commencing with 'The Great Chieftain who has attained the five *Mahâśabdas*; he who is the lord of the goddess of generosity and bravery; he who is the sun of the white lotuses of the Sindakuḷa; he who is a very Kâmadêva among chieftains; he who, mounted on restive horses, is skilled in training them to perfection; he who is possessed of characteristic marks that are completely auspicious; he who is praised by poets, by wits, and by orators; he who is the receptacle of a number of good qualities; he who has for the ornament of his ears the listening to the Śaiva traditions; he who is the support of all learned men; he who is the preceptor of inexhaustible benefits to others; he who is brave even without any one to help him; he who is as conversant as Châṇakya with the many expedients of the art of government; he who never breaks his word; he who is well versed in the science of arms and other excellent accomplishments; he who is the leader in the battle-field; he who is a very Saṁkrandana in enjoying all objects of enjoyment; he who is a very Ravinandana in respect of his complete liberality; he who is a very Triṇêtra to (destroy) numbers of forts of many kinds; he whose achievements are like those of the first of kings; he who is a very cage of thunderbolts to (protect) those who take refuge with him; he who is as one of the elephants of the quarters among chieftains; he who delights in enjoying the sentiments of poetry and singing; he who has acquired the most excellent favour of the god Śrî-Śaṅkaradêva',—impartially punishing the wicked and protecting the good, was ruling, at his capital of Rambirage, with the diversion of joyful conversations, the Kisukâḍu Seventy, the Kēḷavâḍi Three-hundred, the Bâgaḍage Seventy, and the Nareyaṅgal Twelve:—

The radiant country of Kuntaḷa is esteemed the chief ornament of the land of Bharata in the world which is encircled by the ocean; and in it Narayagal, laden with fruits, is very charming.

On the occasion of an eclipse of the sun on Thursday the day of the new moon of the month Kârttika of the Sâdhâraṇa *saṁvatsara*, being the year of the Śaka 872, Tippaṇayyanâyaka of Hiriya-Hannasu of

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[8] '*Aṇaṭṭiji*,' of which I have not been able to obtain an explanation as a separate word, would appear to be connected etymologically with '*aṇakisu*', *to mock, jeer.*

the southern part of Nareyaṅgal which was thus charming, gave, with libations of water, to Trilôchanapaṇḍita, on behalf of the god Tippaṇêśvaradêva, thirty *mattars* of Aṟavaṇa in his rent-free service-land of Hannasu to the E. of Kuyyabaḷḷa, to the N. of the road to Mûḍapâdahola, and to the S. of the rent-free service-land called Teneyabaḷa; at the four corners four heaps of stones above graves of Kiṁ-Narigal, together with (stones bearing the emblems to) a *liṅga* and ascetics and a cow, were set up (as boundary-marks). The shrine of the god is to the E. of the gate called Śrîvagilu, to the W. of the fort, to the N. of the rent-free service-land called Gâvuṇḍabaḷa, and to the S. of the king's highway; at the four corners are four heaps of stones above graves of Kiṁ-Narigal. Tippaṇayya set apart one oil-mill for the purposes of the god. Four heaps of stones above graves of Kiṁ-Narigal (are the boundary-marks) to one *mattar* of rent-free garden-land (that was given to the god) to the E. of the road to Jakile and to the S. of the rent-free land of the god Śrî-Âbêśvaradêva.

To the W. of the road to Jakile and to the N. of the garden-land of (the god) Sôbagêśvara, Dêvagâvuṇḍa[9] gave one *mattar* of rent-free garden-land, (the boundary-marks of which are) four heaps of stones above graves of Kiṁ-Narigal.

The (corporation of) Sixteen and the (corporation of) Eighteen of that place, and the (members of the religious body of) the locality of the five *Maṭhas*, shall preserve the grants thus specified as long as the moon and sun shall last.

Hail! The fortunate king Jagadêkamalla-Pêrmâḍidêva, having deliberated on this act of piety....................................[10]

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[9] See note † to line 45 of the text.

[10] See note ‡ to line 48 of the text.

No. III.

[1]ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗಶಿರಶ್ಚುಂಬಿಚಂದ್ರಚಾಮರಚಾರವೇ । [2]ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯನಗರಾರಂಭಮೂಲಸ್ತಂಭಾಯ ಶಾಂ(ಶಂ)-ಭವೇ ॥ [3]ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತಭುವನಾಶ್ರಯ ಶ್ರೀಪೃಥ್ವೀವಲ್ಲಭ ಮಹಾರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜ ಪರಮೇಶ್ವರ ಪರಮ-ಭಟ್ಟಾ[4]ರಕಂ ಸತ್ಯಾಶ್ರಯಕುಳತಿಳಕಂ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯಾಭರಣಂ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ರಿ(ತ್ರಿ)ಭುವನಮಲ್ಲದೇವರ ವಿಜಯರಾಜ್ಯಮು-ತ್ತರೋತ್ತ[5]ರಾಭಿವ್ರಿ(ವೃ)ದ್ಧಿಪ್ರವರ್ದ್ಧಮಾನಮಾಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕ್ಕತಾರಂ ಬರಂ ಜಯನ್ತೀಪುರವರದ ನೆಲೆವೀಡಿನೊಳ್ ಸುಖಸಂಕ-ಥಾವಿನೋದದಿಂ [6]ರಾಜ್ಯಂಗೆಯ್ಯುತ್ತಮಿರೆಯಿರೆ [।] ತತ್ಪಾದಪದ್ಮೋಪಜೀವಿಗಳ್ [।] ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಧಿಗ-ತಪಂಚಮಹಾಶಬ್ದ ಮಹಾಮಣ್ಡ[7]ಳೇಶ್ವರಂ ಭೋಗಭೋಗೀಶ್ವರ । ಕುಸುವಕುಳಕುವಳಯದಿವಾಕರ ಸತ್ಯರತ್ನಾ-ಕರ । ಅಭಿನವಧರ್ಮ್ಮನನ್ದ[8]ನ ವಿಭವಸಂಕ್ರನ್ದನ [।] ಬದ್ದುಗಂಡರೆ ವರಿಸುವ ಮಣ್ಡಳಿಕರ ಗಣ್ಡ ಗಂಡಭೇರುಣ್ಡ । ಅಹಿತಮಣ್ಡಳಿಕಸೂಱೆ[9]ಕಾಱ ಅಣ್ಣ(?ನ್ನೋ)ನಂಕಕಾಱ । ಸಂಗ್ರಾಮಜತ್ತಲಟ್ಟ ಸುಭಟನ್ರಿ(ನೃ)ಪಲಲಾಟಪಟ್ಟ । ಸಹಜಮ್ರಿ(ಮೃ)ಗಮದಾಮೋದ ವಿ[10]ತರಣಾವಿನೋದ । ಸಾಕ್ಷರಿಕಸಮುದ್ಧ-ರಣ ಕಲಿಗಳಾಭರಣ । ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ರಿ(ತ್ರಿ)ಭುವನಮಲ್ಲದೇವರ ಕೇಸರಿ ರಿಪುಮಣ್ಡಳಿ[11]ಕತಳಪ್ರಹಾರಿ । ನಾಮಾದಿಸಮಸ್ತಪ್ರಶಸ್ತಿಸಹಿತಂ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾಮಣ್ಡಳೇಶ್ವರಂ ಆಚರಸರ್ ಕಿಸುಕಾಡೆಪ್ಪತ್ತು[12]ಮಂ ಬೆಳ್ವೊಲಮೂ-ನೂಱುಮೊಳಗಣ ಹನ್ನೆರಡರ ಮೊದಲ ಬಾಡಂ ನರೆಯಂಗಲ್ಲಬ್ಬೆಗೆಱೆ ಮೊದಲಾಗಿ ಪಲವುಂ ಬಾಡಂ[13]ಗಳಂ ಸುಖಸಂಕಥಾವಿನೋದದಿಂ ರಾಜ್ಯಂಗೆಯ್ಯುತ್ತಮಿರೆಯಿರೆ [॥] ಶಲೆದೋಱಲ್ ಮಿಱುಲಾನಲ್ ಪೊಡಱಲೆಡಱ-

[14]ಲಾದರ್ಪ್ಪಿಸಲ್ ಕುರ್ಕ್ಕೆ ದಕ್ಕುಂದಲಿವಾಯಲ್ ಕಲ್ಕಿ ವೀಱಾರಿಗಳುಱದದಟರ್ಮ್ಮನ್ನೆಯುರ್ಸ್ಸನ್ನೆಯುರ್ಬ್ಬಾಲ್ದಲೆಯುಂ ಸರ್ವ್ವಶ್ವ(ಸ್ವ)[15]ಮಂ ಕೊಟ್ಟಡಿಗೆಱಗಿ ಶರಣ್ಬೊಕ್ಕ ಮೂವಿಟ್ಟಯೊಕ್ಕಲ್ಗೆಲಸಕ್ಕಾಂತಿರ್ದ್ದರಾಚಮನೃಪನಿದಿರೊಳ್ಕೞಿ ಮಾಱಾಂಪ ಗಂಡರ್ || [16]ಇನ್ತು ಪೊಗರ್ತ್ತೆಗಂ ನೆಗರ್ತ್ತೆಗಂ ಸೆಲೆಯಾಗಿ ದುಷ್ಟನಿಗ್ರಹಶಿಷ್ಟಪ್ರ-ತಿಪಾಳನದಿಂ ರಾಜ್ಯಂಗೆಯ್ಯುತ್ತಮಿರ್ದ್ದು [।] ಶ್ರೀಮತ್(ಚ್)[17]ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯವಿಕ್ರಮಕಾಲದ ೪೩ನೇಯ ಶುಭಕ್ರಿ-(ಕೃ)ತ್ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಚೈತ್ರ ಸುದ್ಧ ೮ ಸೋಮವಾರ ಉತ್ತರಾಯಣಸಂಕ್ರಾ[18]ನ್ತಿಯಂದು ಮಹಾಮಣ್ಡ-ಳೇಶ್ವರಂ ಆಚರಸರ್ ಕಿಸುಕಾಡೆಪ್ಪತ್ತಱೊಳಗಣ ಕಿಱುನರೆಯಂಗಲ್ಲ ಶ್ರೀವೊಲ್ಲೇಶ್ವರದೇವ[19]ರ್ಗ್ಗೆ ಹಿರಿಯನ-ರೆಯಂಗಲ್ಲ ಶೊ(? ಶೋ ; ಸೊ ? , ಸೋ ?)ಭ(ಬ ?)ಗೇಶ್ವರವೇವರ ಸಮ್ಮಂಧಿಯ ವೊಲ್ಲೇಶ್ವರದೇವರ್ಗ್ಗೆ ಸರ್ಬ್ಬ(ರ್ವ್ವ)-ಬಾಧೆ(ಧ)ಪರಿಹಾರವಾಗಿ ಧಾರಾ[20]ಪೂರ್ಬ್ಬ(ರ್ವ್ವ)ಕಂ ೧೨ ಮತ್ತರಂ ಬಿಟ್ಟರ್ || ಅಂತಾ ಹನ್ನಿ-ಮತ್ತರ್ಕ್ಕೆಯ್ಗಂ ಮೇರೆಯಾವು(ವ)ವೆಂದಡೆ [।] ಊರಿಂ ತೆಂಕಲ್ ಹಿರಿಯನ[21]ರೆಯಂಗಲ್ಲ ಹೊಲದ ಮೇರೆಯಿಂ ಪಡುವಲ್ ತೆಂಕಲುಮ್ಮಚಿಗೆಯ ಹೊಲದ ಮೇರೆಯಿಂ ಬಡಗಲ್ [||] [22]ಪೇರ್ಮ್ಮ-ಗನಾಚನ್ರಿ(ನೃ)ಪಾಂಕನ ಧರ್ಮ್ಮವ ನಡಸುತ್ತವಿರ್ಪ್ಪ ಹೆಮ್ಮಡಿದೇವಂ ಕೂರ್ಮ್ಮೆಯೊಳು* ನೋಡಿ ರಕ್ಷಿಸಿ ಧರ್ಮ್ಮವ† ಪ್ರತಿಪಾ[23]ಳಿಸುತ್ತವಿರ್ಕ್ಕುಂ ಜಗದೊಳ್ [||] ಮತ್ತವದಱ ತದನನ್ತರದೊಳ್ [।] ಅಂಗನೆ ಸಂಗಜನರ್ತ್ಥಿಜನಂಗಳ್ಗಂಗಾಧಿರಾ[24]ಜನೂರ್ಜ್ಜಿತತೇಜಂ ತುಂಗಯಶನೆಡೆಪಿದರ್ಗ್ಗೆ ಸಿಂಘಂ(ಗಂ) ಜಗದೊಳಗೆ ನೆಗರ್ದ

* This vowel,—'*u*',—properly represents the Virâma here, but in this instance it *must* be written and pronounced for the sake of the metre.

† This syllable being long by position, there is one short-syllable instant in excess of the proper number; a better reading, for the sake of the metre, would be the Prakṛitirûpa ಧರ್ಮ್ಮ, or ಧರ್ಮಂ.

ವೊಲ್ಲಿಯ ಬಮ್ಮ(ಮ್ಮಂ) [॥] ಮತ್ತಮಾತನ ಮ[25]ಹಿಮೆಯುಂ(ಯಿಂ)ತೆಂದಡೆ [।] ಎಡೆಯಾಟಿ ವಂದಿಬ್ರಿಂ-(ವೃಂ)ದಂ ಬಡವಾವಪ್ರುದೇಂದು ಮನದಲಾಳೋಚಿಸಿ ಬಾ ಪಿಡಿಯೆಂದು ಕುಡುವ ಬಮ್ಮ[26]ನ ಪಡೆದರ್ತ್ಥಂ ಸೂಳೆಯನ್ತೆ ಕೈಗೆಯ್ದುಕ್ಕ(ಕ್ಕಂ) [॥] ಅಂತಾಕಾರಹಕ್ಕದ*ಧಿಷ್ಟಾ(ಷ್ಠಾ)ಯಕಂ ವೊಲ್ಲಿಯ ಬಮ್ಮಣ್ಣಂ ಮಾಡಿದ ಧರ್ಮ್ಮವೆಂತೆಂದಡೆ [।] [27]ವಿದಿತಂ ಖ್ಯಾತಿಗೆ ನೆಲೆಯಾಗುದಿತೋದಿತಮೆನಿಸಿ ನೆಗರ್ದ್ದ(ರ್ದ) ವೊಲ್ಲೇಶ್ವರದೊಳ್ ಸದಮಲಭಕ್ತಂ ಬಮ್ಮಣನಿಧು ಶಾಶ್ವತಮಂ[28]ದು ಬಿಟ್ಟ ದೇವಗ್ರ್ಗಗಳ್ [॥] ಮನ್ನಿಸಿ ದಯಿ-ಯಿಂದರಸುಂ ತಂನಂ ನಡಸುತ್ತಮಿದ್ದ್ರ ಬೇಡಿತನೀಯಲ್ ಪನ್ನಿಮ್ಮತ್ತರ್ ಕೆಯ್ಯಂ ಪನ್ನ[29]ಗಘೂಡ-ಣಾಗೆ ಬಿಟ್ಟನಾಗಳ್ ಬಮ್ಮ(ಮ್ಮಂ) [॥]......... (The remainder of the inscription,—not very much,—is hopelessly effaced and illegible.)

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* See note 8 to the translation.

No. III.[1]

Reverence to Śambhu, who is replendent with a *chowri* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds!

Hail! While the victorious reign of the prosperous Tribhuvanamalladêva,—the asylum of the universe, the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the most venerable, the glory of the Satyâśrayakuḷa, the ornament of the Châḷukyas,—was flourishing with perpetual increase, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last, at the capital of Jayantîpura[2], with the diversion of joyful conversations, he who subsisted (as a bee) on the lotuses which were his feet (was):—

Hail! The fortunate Mahâmaṇḍaḷêśvara king Âcha, who was adorned with all the glory of the names of 'The Great Chieftain who has attained the five *Mahâśabdas*, he who is a very Bhôgîśvara[3] in respect of his pleasures, he who is a very sun (in respect of his hostility) to the blue lotuses of the race of Kusava, he who is a mine of truth, he who is a very second Dharmanandana[4], he who resembles Saṁkrandana in his power, he who is the mightiest of chieftains who attack when they discover a weak point, he who is a very Gaṇḍabhêruṇḍa[5], he who plunders hostile chieftains, ... [6], he who is resolute in war, he who is the first of warriors and kings, he who naturally has the odour of musk, he who delights in liberality, he who supports men of letters, he who is the glory of brave men, he who is the lion of the prosperous Tribhuvanamalladêva, he who strikes the palms of the hands of hostile chieftains.' Whilst he, with the diversion of joyful conversations, was

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[1] This inscription is from a stone-tablet built into the wall on the right of the door of the temple of Mollebrahmadêva at Koḍikoppa a hamlet of Narêgal in the Rôṇ Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ District. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, a *liṅga*; to the right of it, a priest with a cow and calf beyond him, and over them the sun; to the left of it, a figure of Basava with the moon above it.

[2] An old name of Banawâsi.

[3] The king of serpents,—Śêsha, or Vâsuki.

[4] Yudhishṭhira.

[5] A fabulous bird with two heads which preys on the flesh of elephants.

[6] '*Aṇṇanaṅkakâṟu*',—meaning not known.

governing the Kisukâḍu Seventy and several towns the chief of which was Abbegeṟe of Nareyaṅgal which is the chief town of the (Nareyaṅgal) Twelve which is included in the Beḷvola Three-hundred:—

His brave enemies, and valiant and honourable and learned men,—timorous of raising their heads, of transgressing against him, of opposing him, of attacking him, of assailing him, of manifesting their arrogance, of causing his head to swell from their blows, or of thieving aught from him,—surrendered to him their heads with a sword (wherewith to behead them if he pleased) and their property, and, seeking his protection, came to perform for him the three (kinds of) forced household labour; what men then are foolish enough to withstand king Âchama?

When the sun was commencing his progress to the north on Monday the eighth day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra of the Śubhakṛit *saṁvatsara*, which was the forty-fifth year of the era of the prosperous Châḷukya Vikrama, the Great Chieftain king Âcha,—who, being thus the object of praise and the abode of glory, was governing with punishment to the wicked and protection to the good,—gave, for the purpose of the god Śrî-Mollêśvaradêva of Kiṟu-Nareyaṅgal which was included in the Kisukâḍu Seventy, twelve *mattars*, with libations of water and free from all opposing claims, to Mollêśvaradêva who belonged to (the establishment of) the god Śôbhagêśvara of Hiriya-Nareyaṅgal. The boundaries of these twelve *mattars* of cultivated land are:—To the S. of the village; to the W. and the S. of the boundaries of the lands of Hiriya-Nareyaṅgal; and to the N. of the boundaries of the lands of Ummachige. Hemmaḍidêva, his eldest son, continuing the religious act of king Âcha and regarding it with kindness and protecting it, preserved religion in the world.

And after that Molleya-Bamma,—a very Aṅgâdhirâja[7] (in respect of his munificence) to women and acquaintances and supplicants, possessed of great splendour and eminent fame, a very lion to those who assailed him,—was glorious in the world. And to describe his greatness:—Bearing in mind that his worshippers, running hither and thither, were becoming poor, and bidding them come and take (whatever they desired),—the wealth of the liberal Bamma, which he had acquired, (became an ornament to him through the publicity) of his charities just as a harlot (to display her wealth) puts on ornaments (made out of all

[7] Karṇa, the king of Aṅga.

that she possesses). To describe the religious actions performed by that same Molleya-Barmaṇṇa who was thus the superintendent of the estimates-department [8] :—Saying "This is a perpetual grant," Barmaṇa,—who was glorious in being esteemed to be ever more and more the well-known abode of fame and who was the good and spotless worshipper of Mollêśvara,—gave at that time a grant to the god. When the king, regarding him with affection and confirming his acts, gave him whatever he asked for, then Bamma allotted twelve *mattars* of cultivated land to that god [9] who is adorned with serpents.

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8 '*Âkâra-hakka*', *the province or peculiar business of roughly-framed statements of expenses, profits, &c.* These are rather curious words to find in an Old Canarese inscription of the early part of the twelfth century A.D.; '*hakka*' is of course the Hindustâni (or Arabi) '*ḥakk*', and the meaning evidently intended and given above to the Sanskrit word '*âkâra*' is a purely Marâṭhi meaning.

9 Śiva.

No. IV.

[1]ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗಶಿರಶ್ಚುಂಬಿಚಂದ್ರಚಾಮರಚಾರವೇ [।] ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯನಗರಾರಂಭಮೂಲಸ್ತಂಭಾಯ ಶಂಭವೇ [॥]
[2]ನಮಶ್ಶಾಶ್ವತಿಕಾನನ್ದಜ್ಞಾನೈಶ್ವರ್ಯ್ಯಮಯಾತ್ಮನೇ [।] ಸಂಕಲ್ಪಸಫಲಬ್ರಹ್ಮಮೂಲಸ್ತಂಬಾಯ ಶಂಭವೇ [॥]
[3]ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತಭುವನಾಶ್ರಯ ಶ್ರೀಪಿ(ಪೃ)ಥ್ವೀವಲ್ಲಭ ಮಹಾರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜ ಪರಮೇಶ್ವರ ಪರ-
[4]ಮಭಟ್ಟಾರಕಂ ಸತ್ಯಾಶ್ರಯಕುಳತಿಳಕಂ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯಾಭರಣಂ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಪ್ರತಾಪಚಕ್ರವ[5]ರ್ತ್ತಿಜಗದೇಕಮಲ್ಲದೇವರ
ವಿಜಯರಾಜ್ಯಮುತ್ತರೋತ್ತರಾಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಪ್ರವರ್ದ್ಧಮಾನಮಾಚಂದ್ರಾ[6]ರ್ಕ್ಕತಾರಂ ಬರಂ ಸಲುತ್ತಮಿರೆ [॥] ಆ ಮಹಾ-
ನುಭಾವನ ಪಾದಪದ್ಮೋಪಜೀವಿ ॥ ಅಚುಗಿಮಂಡಳೀಕನ ತ[7]ನೂಭವನುಗ್ರವಿರೋಧಿಮಂಡಳೀಕಾಚಲವಜ್ರನಪ್ರತಿ-
ಮಪೌರುಷನುನ್ನತಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿಯಿಂದ[8]ವಾಗ್ಗೋಚರನಾಗ್ರವೆಂಬಿನೆಗವೀ ಜಗವೆಲ್ಲಮನೆಯ್ದೆ ಸುತ್ತುಗೊಂಡಾಚರಿಸಿರ್ದ್ದ ತನ್ನ
ಜಗದುನ್ನತಿಯಿಂ [9]ಕಲಿ ಪೆರ್ಮ್ಮಭೂಭುಜ(ಜಂ) ॥ ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಧಿಗತಪಂಚಮಹಾಶಬ್ದಮಹಾಮಂಡಳೇಶ್ವರ ।
ವಿರೋಧಿಮಂ[10]ಡಳಿಕಮದನಮಹೇಶ್ವರ । ನಿಜನಾಮಾವಳಿವಿರಾಜಿತರಪ್ಪ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾಮಂ[11]ಡಳೇಶ್ವರಂ ಜಗ-
ದೇಕಮಲ್ಲಪೆರ್ಮ್ಮಾಡಿದೇವರಸರ್ ಕಿಸುಕಾಡುನಾಡುಮಂ ಬಾಗಡಿಗೆನಾಡುಮಂ ಕೆ(?ಕೇ)[12]ಲವಾಡಿನಾಡುಮಂ ನರೆಯ-
ಗಲ(ಲ್)[ನಾಡು]ಮಂ ದುಷ್ಟನಿಗ್ರಹವಿಶಿಷ್ಟಪ್ರತಿ[ಪಾ][13]ಲನವ್ಮಾಡಿ ರಾಜಧಾನಿ[ಯ ನೆಲವೀಡಿನೊ]ಳ್ ಸುಖಸಂಕ-
ಥಾವಿನೋದದಿಂ ರಾಜ್ಯಂಗೆಯ್ಯು[14]ತ್ತಮಿರೆ ॥ ವೃ ॥ ಕುರಿದಾಳ್ದ(ಳ್ದಂ) [ಪರಮರ್ದ್ದಿಭೂ]ಪನಭವಂ
ಬ್ರಹ್ಮೇಶ್ವರಂ ನಿಚ್ಚವಾದರದಿಂ[15]ದರ್ಚ್ಚಿಸುತಿರ್ಪ್ಪ ತನ್ನ ಕುಲದೆಯ್ವ(ದೈವಂ) ವಾಮಶಕ್ತಿ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮೇಶ್ವರನಾ-

ಲಾಕ್ಯನೆನಲ್ಕೆ ಪೆಂಪಸದನಿ[16]ನ್ನೀ ವಣ್ಣಿಪಂ ಬಣ್ಣಿಪಂ ನರನೀ ವೊಲ್ಲೆಯ ......ಯಾಚರಣಾನ(ನಂ) ಧರ್ಮ್ಮಾತ್ಮನಂ ಬರ್ಮ್ಮನ(ನಂ) ॥ ಶ್ರೀ[17]ವಾಮಶಕ್ತಿಪಂಡಿತದೇವರ್ಮ್ಮಧ್ಯಾಕ್ಷರಾಮಧೇನುವೆನಿಪ್ಪೀ ಭೂವಲಯವಿದಿತಕೀ[18]ರ್ತ್ತಿಯನಾವರಿಸಿದರೆಂದಾ ವರನೀ ವಣ್ಣಿರ್ಪುದೊ ॥ ಗುರುಗಳ್ ತಪೋಧನರ್ಪ್ಪರಹರ [19]ನಿಷ್ಟಾವೆಯ್ಪ(ದೈವ)ಮ(ಮು)ಗ(ಗು)ರಮೂನೂರ್ವ್ವರ್ಗ್ಗಟ್ಟರಿಯಿನಿಪ ದಾನಗುಣಾವಾಭರಣಂ ಕೇ[20]ವಳಮೆ ಸುಜನಚೂಡಾಮಣಿ[ಗಳ್ ॥ ಪ]ರವನಿತಾಲೋಲುಪರಂ ಪರಧನಕಾಂಕ್ಷಿ[21]ತರನುಚಿತವಹಿಯದ† ....ವಿಧ್ಯಾಧರರೆನಿಸಿರ್ದ್ದರ್ಲೆಯಬೋ[22]ಜಗರೆಯೆಮ್ಬ[ನ್ನಂ ॥] ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ [ಶ್ರೀಮ]ತ್ಪ್ರತಾಪಚಕ್ರವರ್ತ್ತಿಜಗದೇಕ[23]ಮಲ್ಲವರ್ಷದ ಒನೆಯ ರಕ್ತಾಕ್ಷಿ[ಸಂ]ವತ್ಸರದ ಪುಷ್ಯದಮಾವಾಸ್ಯೆ ಸೋಮವಾರ ಉತ್ತರಾ[24]ಯಣಸಂಕ್ರಮಣವ್ಯತೀಪಾತ[ಸೂ]ರ್ಯ್ಯಗ್ರಹಣದಂದು ಕಿಸುಕಾಡೆಪ್ಪತ್ತ[25]ಱ ಬಳಿಯ ಬಾಡಂ ಕಿಱುನರಯಂಗಲ್ಲ ಶ್ರೀಮೂಳಸ್ಥಾನಬ್ರಹ್ಮೇಶ್ವರದೇವರಂಗಭೋಗ[26]ಕ್ಕೆ ತಂಬುಲಿಗಸಾಸಿರ್ವ್ವರಶೇಶ(ಷ)ಮಿರ್ದ್ದು ಕಿಱುನರಯಂಗಲ್ಲ ಕೊಯ್ದ್ದೆಲೆಯ ಹೇಱಿಂಗೆ ವೀಸವೊಂದು ತರ(?ಕೊಟ್ಟರ್?) ದೇವರ್ಗ್ಗೆ[27]ಲೆವಾ(ಹೊ)ಱಗೆ ಕಾಗಿಣೆಯಿರಡು ॥ ಮತ್ತವಾ ದೇವರ ನಂದಾದೀವಿಗೆಗೆ ಸರ್ವ್ವನಮಶ್ಯ(ಸ್ಯ)ವಾಗಿ ಬಿಟ್ಟ [28]ಗಾಣವೊನ್ದು ॥ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮೇಶ್ವರದೇವರ್ಗ್ಗೆಗುರಮೂನೂರ್ವ್ವರುಂ ಟಿಲೆಯಬೋಜಗರ[29]ಯ್ನೂಱನಾಲ್ವರುಮಶೇಶ(ಷ)ಮಿರ್ದ್ದು ಪ್ರತ್ಯೇಕವೊಕ್ಕಲಲೊನು(ನ್ದು) ಪಣಮಂ ದೇವರಂಗಭೋಗ[30]ಕ್ಕೆ ಬಿಟ್ಟರ್ ॥ ಊಮಚಿಗೆಯ ವ್ರೊ(?ವ್ಯಾ)ರೋ(?ರೋ)ಡೆಯ ಪ್ರಮುಖ ಮಹಾಜನ ನೂಱನಾಲ್ವ[31]ರ ಕೆಯ್ಯೊಳ್ ಪೊಲ್ಲೆಯಬುಮ್ಮರ್ಣ್ಣಂ ಸರ್ವ್ವನಮಶ್ಯ(ಸ್ಯ)ಮಾಗೆ ಮೂಱುಗೋ(?ಗೋ)ಡು ಊರಿಂ

* Two letters effaced here.

† Letters equivalent to twelve short-syllable instants effaced here.

ಮೂಡ [32]ಕುಕ್ಕನೂರ ಬಟ್ಟೆಯ ಗೊತ್ತಿನ ಕಲ್ಲಿಂ ಬಡಗ ತನ್ನ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮೇಶ್ವರದೇವರ್ಗ್ಗೆ ಬಿಟ್ಟ ಮತ್ತರ್ ಹ[33]ನ್ನೆರಡು ॥ ಇನ್ತಿನ್ತಿ(ನ್ತ)ನೇಕಸ್ಥಾನಮಂ ಪ್ರತಿಪಾಳಿಸಿದರ್ಗ್ಗೆ ವಾರಣಾಸಿ ಕುರುಕ್ಷೇತ್ರವ-[34]ಘ್ಯ(ರ್ಘ್ಯ)ತೀರ್ತ್ಥಮೆಂಬ ದಿವ್ಯತೀರ್ತ್ಥಂಗಳೊಳ್ ಸೂರ್ಯ್ಯಗ್ರಹಣದನ್ದು ದಿವ್ಯತಪೋಧ[35]ನರ್ಗ್ಗಂ ವೇದಪಾ-ರಗರಪ್ಪ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರ್ಗ್ಗಂ ಸಹಸ್ರಕವಿಲೆಗಳನಳಂಕಾರಸಹಿತ ಕೊಟ್ಟ [36]ಪುಣ್ಯಫಲಮಕ್ಕು [।] ಇದನ-ಳಿದಾತನಾ ತೀರ್ತ್ಥಂಗಳೊಳಾ ತಪೋಧನರುಮನಾ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರು[37]ಮನಾ ಕವಿಲೆಗಳುಮನಳಿದ ಮಹಾಪಾತಕನ-ಕು(ಕ್ಕು) ॥

No. IV.[1]

Reverence to Śambhu, who is resplendent with a *chowri* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds! Reverence to Śambhu, whose spirit is composed of eternal joy and knowledge and power, and who is the chief stay of religious knowledge which becomes fruitful through the exercise of mental determination!

Hail! While the victorious reign of the prosperous and valorous universal emperor Jagadêkamalladêva,—the asylum of the universe, the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the most venerable, the glory of the Satyâśrayakuḷa, the ornament of the Châḷukyas,—was flourishing with perpetual increase so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last, he who subsisted (as a bee) on the lotuses which were the feet of that mighty potentate (was):—

The brave king Pêrma[2],—the son of the chieftain Âchugi, a very thunderbolt to the mountains which were the fierce hostile chieftains, possessed of unequalled manliness,—who, enveloping the whole world with his great glory so that it was said that he could not be described in words by any one, was waited upon by the preëminence of his fame.

Hail! While the fortunate Mahâmaṇḍaḷêśvara king Jagadêkamalla-Pêrmâḍidêva,—who was decorated with his own titles of 'the Great Chieftain who has attained the five *Mahâśabdas*, he who is a very Mahêśvara to (destroy) Love in the form of hostile chieftains,'—punishing the wicked and protecting the good, was ruling at his capital, with the diversion of joyful conversations, the district of Kisukâḍu, the district of Bagaḍige, the district of Kĕḷavâḍi, and the district of Nareyagal:—

He who preserved and governed him was king Paramardi[3]; Brahmêśvara, the Unborn[4], was ever respectfully worshipped by

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[1] This inscription is from a stone-tablet built into the wall on the left of the same door of the temple of Mollo-Brahmadêva on the right of which is No. III. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, a *linga* and a priest; to the right of it, a figure of Basava, beyond which is the sun; and to the left of it, a cow and calf, beyond which is the moon.

[2] See note 5 to the translation of No. II.

[3] See note 5 to the translation of No. II.

[4] The god Brahma.

him; his family-divinity [5] was Vâmaśakti, the worshipper of Brahmêśvara;—in these things consisted his greatness; how shall man further describe and praise the pious Barma, the worshipper of . . . . Molleya? Śrî-Vâmaśaktipaṇḍitadêva usurped the reputation, well-known throughout the world, of being considered the noon-tide cow of plenty; thus excellent was he; how shall one describe it? Their priests were ascetics; Purahara[6] was their favourite divinity; their decoration was such charity towards the Ugura Three-hundred[7] as to provoke astonishment; they were indeed the best of all good people; . . . . , very properly not recognizing those who covet the wives of others or long for their wealth;—such were the Eleya-Bôjagaru, who were considered to be the possessors of knowledge.

Hail! On the occasion of an eclipse of the sun when the sun was commencing his progress to the north on Monday the day of the new-moon of the month Pushya of the Raktâkshi *saṁvatsara*, being the seventh year of the reign of the prosperous and valorous universal emperor Jagadêkamalla, the One-thousand sellers of betel leaves and nuts, acting all together, (gave), for the *aṅgabhôga* of the god Śrî-Brahmêśvaradêva of the original shrine of Kiṟu-Narayaṅgal which was a town near to[8] the Kisukâḍu Seventy, one *vîsa*[9] on each load of a beast of burden of betel-leaves of Kiṟu-Narayaṅgal that had been cut, and two *kâgiṇis*[10] on each head-load of betel-leaves, for the god. And one oil-mill was set apart, as a grant to be respected by all, for the perpetual lamp of that same god. And the Ugura Three-hundred and the Eleya-Bôjagaru Five-hundred-and-four, acting all together, set apart for the *aṅgabhôga* of the god one *paṇa*[11] on each agriculturist. And Molleya-Barmaṇṇa allotted to his god Brahmêśvaradêva, as a grant to be respected by all, in the cultivated land of the One-hundred-

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[5] *i. e.* his family-priest.

[6] The destroyer of the cities,—Śiva.

[7] The Ugura Three-hundred and the Five-hundred-and-four are referred to also in some Yâdava inscriptions at Munavaḷḷi or Munôḷi in the Belgaum District which I hope shortly to publish. I can offer no explanation of these terms beyond that certain religious bodies are apparently intended.

[8] '*Baḷiya*', *included in;* see note 37 to the Translation No. VII of the Raṭṭa Inscriptions referred to above.

[9] '*Vîsa*',—one-fourth of an anna.

[10] '*Kâgiṇi*',—corrupted form of '*kâkiṇi*,'—twenty cowries or a quarter of a *paṇa*.

[11] '*Paṇa*',—a gold coin equal to very nearly 220 grains Troy.

and-four merchants the chief of whom was Ûrôdeya of Ûmachige, twelve *mattars* to the E. of the village of Mûṛugoṇḍu and to the N. of the stone that marks the road to Kukkanûr.

To those who preserve (intact) these numerous sites (of grants) there shall accrue the same reward of religious merit as belongs to those who bestow a thousand tawny-coloured cows upon holy ascetics or Brâhmaṇs who are well versed in the scriptures at the sacred shrines of Vâraṇâsi or Kurukshêtra or Arghyatîrtha at the time of an eclipse of the sun; but he, who destroys them, is guilty of as great a sin as if at those same sacred shrines he were to destroy those same ascetics or those same Brâhmaṇs or those same tawny-coloured cows.

No. V.

[1]ಓಂ ನಮಃ ಶಿವಾಯ್ಯ(ಯ) || ನಮಸ್ತುಙ್ಗ ಶಿರಶ್ಚುಂಬಿಚಂದ್ರಚಾಮರಚಾರವೇ [1] ತ್ರೈ-
ಳೋಕ್ಯನಗರಾರಂಭಮೂಲಸ್ತಂಭಾಯ ಶಂಭವೇ || [2]ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ವಿನತಸಮಸ್ತಾಮರಮಕುಟನಿಕಟವಸ್ತುಗಭ-
ಸ್ತಿನ್ಯಸ್ತಾಙ್ಘ್ರ(ಙ್ಘ್ರಿ)ದ್ವಿರನೀಳಂ ಸ(ಶ)ಸ್ತಂ ಪಡೆದಂ ಧರಿತ್ರ್ಯ(ತ್ರಿ)ಯುಮನಂಬು[3]ಧಿಯುಮ || ಉದಿ-
ತೇಂದು ಶ್ರೀನಿವಾಸಂ . ಶರಣಾಗತಕುಭ್ರ್ಯ(ಭೃ)ದ್ರಾಜಿತಂ ನೂತ್ನರತ್ನಾಭ್ಯುದಯಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಂ ಮುಕುಂದಪ್ರ್ಯ(ಪ್ರಿ)ಯ[4]-
ಶಯನತಳಂ ಕೂರ್ಮ್ಮಪಾಠೀನನಕ್ರೋನ್ಮದಮಾತಂಗಾಳಿಕೇಳೀಚಳಿತಜಳಚರಾಸ್ಫಾಳಕಲ್ಲೋಳಮಾಳಾನದನದ್ಯಂಭ(ಭಃ)ಪ್ಲವಾಳಂಕರಣಾನ್ಯ-
[5]ಜಗದಾವಾಸಮುದ್ರಂ ಸಮುದ್ರಂ || ಕಂ || ಶದುದಧಿಮೇಖಳೆಯೆನಲೊಪ್ಪಿದ ವಸುಧೆಗೆ ಮಕು-
ಟಮೆನಿಪ ಮೇರುಗೆ ತೆಂಕಲ್ ಸದ[6]ಮಳಭರತಾವನಿಯಂತದರೊಂದಂ ತೆಂಕಲೆಸೆವ ಕುಂತಳವಿಷಯಂ ||
ಅದನಾಳ್ದರನಂತಸುಖಾಸ್ಪದರೆನಿಪ ಚಳುಕ್ಯವಂಶರತ್ನೋಂ(ತ್ನೋ)ತ್ತಂಶಂ(ಸ)ಮ(ರ್ಮ್ಮ)ದವದರಿಹಸ್ತಿಮಸ್ತಕವಿ[7]ದಳನಕಂಠೀರವಪ್ರತಾ-
ಪನೇಕರ್ || ಅವರೊಳಗೆ || ವ್ರ(ವೃ) || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಮಚ್ಚಳುಕ್ಯಾನ್ವಯಗಗನಶರಚ್ಚಾರುಚಂದ್ರಂ
ಸಮಸ್ತೋರ್ವ್ವೀ(ರ್ವ್ವೀ)ಸ್ತುತ್ಯಂ ವಿಕ್ರ[8]ಮಾಂಕಾವನಿಪನ ತನಯಂ ಕಾಮಿನೀಕಾಮವಿಸ್ತಾರಿಸೋಮಂ ಸೋಮ-
ನಂಧ್ರದ್ರ(ದ್ರು)ವಿಳಮಗಧನೇಪಾಳಭೂಪಾಳಮಸ್ತನ್ಯಸ್ತಶ್ರೀಪಾದ[9]ಪದ್ಮಂ ನಿಕಿ(ಖಿ)ಳಬುಧನುತಂ ರಾಜಸರ್ವ್ವಜ್ಞಭೂಪಂ ||
ಆತನ ಸುತನಖಿಳಗುಣೋಪೇತಂ ನೆಗಳ್ದಂ ಪ್ರತಾಪಚಕ್ರೇ(ಕ್ರೇ)ಶಂ ವಿಖ್ಯಾತಂ ರಿಪುಭೂಭ್ರ್ಯ(ಭೃ)ನ್ನಿರ್ಘ್ಘಾತಂ
ಜಗ[10]ದೇಕಮಲ್ಲನಪ್ರ(ಪ್ರ)ತಿಮಲ್ಲಂ || ಕಂ || ಶದನುಜನುಧ(ದ್ಧ)ತರಿಪುನ್ರ್ಯ(ನೃ)ಪಮದಗಜಬಂದು(ಧು)ವಿದಳ-

ನಪ್ರವೀಣಕೃಹ(ಪ)ಣಂ ಸದಮಳಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿಪತಾಕಂ ಕದನರಸಾಲೋಲನೆನಿ[11]ಪ ನೂರ್ಮ್ಮಡಿ[ತೈ*]ಲಂ ॥ ಕಂ ॥ ತತ್ಪಾದಪದ್ಮಸೇವಾತತ್ಪರಭೃ(ಭೃ)ಙ್ಗಾಯಮಾನನುಧ್ಧ(ದ್ಧ)ತರಿಪುಭೂಭೃ(ಭೃ)ತ್ಪತಿ ಸಿಂದಕುಟಂ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಪಾರ್ಥ್ಥ(ರ್ತ್ಥ)ವಪಾರ್ಥ್ಥ-(ರ್ತ್ಥ)ನೆನಿಪ ಚಾವುಂಡ[12]ನ್ರಿ(ನೃ)ಪ(ಪಂ) ॥ ಜಯತಿ ವಿಜಯಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನರ್ತ್ತಕೀನಾಟ್ಯರಙ್ಗೋ । ವಿಜಿತ-ಸಮರರಙ್ಗೋ ವೈರಿದೋರ್ದ್ದರ್ಪ್ಪಭಙ್ಗಃ [।] ವಿ[13]ತರಣಗುಣತುಙ್ಗೋ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾಂತರಙ್ಗೋ [।] ವಿವಿಧವಿಬುಧಸಙ್ಗೋ(ಙ್ಗಃ) ಸಾಹಸೋತ್ತುಙ್ಗಭೂಪಃ ॥ ವೃ(ವೃ) ॥ ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಸಿಂದ[14]-ವಂಶೋದ್ಭವಕಮಳವನಾದಿತ್ತ್ಯ(ತ್ಯ)ನಾನಮ್ನ(ಮ್ರ)ಭೂಭೃ(ಭೃ)ನ್ಮಸ್ತಾಳಂಕಾರವಸ್ತುಬ್ರ(ವ್ರ)ಜವಿಲುಠತವಿ[15]ನ್ಯಸ್ತಪಾದಾಬ್ಜನಸ್ತಾರಿಸ್ತೋಮಂ ಗೂರ್ಜ್ಜರಾಂಧ್ರದ್ರವಿಳಮಗಧನೇಪಾಳಭೂಪಾಳಕಾದಿಪ್ರಸ್ತುತ್ತ್ಯಂ(ತ್ಯಂ) ನಿತ್ತ್ಯ(ತ್ಯ)ತೇಜಂ ಪ್ರಬಳಬ[16]ಳಯುತಂ ವೀರ-ಚಾವುಂಡಭೂಪಂ ॥ ಆ ಮಹಾಮಂಡಳೇಶ್ವರಂ ಚಾವುಂಡದೇವರಸರನ್ವಯಾವತಾರಮೆಂತೆಂದೊಡೆ ॥ ಕಂದ ॥ [17]ಸಿಂದಕುಳತಿಳಕನೆನೆ ನೆಗಳ್ದಂ ದಳಿತವಿರೋಧಿಮಂಡಳೇಶ್ವರಸೌ(ಶೌ)ರ್ಯ್ಯಂ ಮಂದರಧೈರ್ಯ್ಯಂ ವಿಭವಪುರಂದ-ರನತುಳಪ್ರತಾಪನಾಚುಗಿ[18]ಭೂಪ(ಪಂ) ॥ ಅನ್ತೆನಿಸಿಧ(ದ) ॥ ಆಚುಗಿಮಂಡಳೇಥ(ತ)ನೊಡವುಟ್ಟಿದನುಧ್ಧ(ದ್ಧ)ತವೀರ-ವೈರಿಭೂಪಾಟಳವಜ್ರ್ರಿ(ಜ್ರಿ) ನಾಕರಸ ಸಿಂಹನೃ(ನೃ)ಪಾಳಕ ದಾಸಭೂಪ[19]ನುಗ್ರಾಚರಣಪ್ರತಾಪನಿಧಿ ದಾಮವಮಹೀಪ ಚವುಂಡಭೂಭುಜಂ ಯಾಚಕಚಾರುದತ್ತನೆನಲೊಪ್ಪುವ ಚಾವಧರಾತಳಾಧಿ[20]ಪಂ ॥ ಕಂ ॥ ಅವರೊಳ-ಗಾಚರಸಂಗೀ ಭುವನಜನಂ ಪೊಗಳೆ ನೆಗಳ್ದ ಬಂಮರಸಂ ಪುಟ್ಟ ವಿಶೇಷವಿಭವಮಂ ಚಕ್ರ್ರ(ಕ್ರ)ವರ್ತ್ತಿ

* The upper part of this letter is effaced, but the lower part of the vowel,—'*ai*,'—is discernible.

ಕುಡೆ ಪಡೆದನಾತ್ಮಸೌ(ಶೌ)[21]ರ್ಯ್ಯೋಂನತಿಯು(ಯಂ) || ಕಂ || ಆತನ ತಂಮಂ ಸಿಂಗಮಹೀತ-
ಳಪತಿಯಾತನಾತ್ಮಜಾತಂ ಭುವನಖ್ಯಾತಂ ನೆಗಳ್ದಾಚರಸಂ ನೂತನ[22]ಮಂಧಾತನಧಿಕಸೌ(ಶೌ)ರ್ಯ್ಯಸಮೇತ(ತಂ) ||
ವ್ರಿ(ವೃ) || ಉರವರಿಯಿಂದ ಗೋವಿಯುಮನುಪ್ಪಿನಕಟ್ಟೆಯ್ಯು(ಯುಮ)ಮಂ ಪ್ರತಾಪದಿಂದುರಿಪಿ [23]ಕಳಿಂಗವಂ-
ಗಮುರುಗೂರ್ಜ್ಜರಮಾಳವಚೇರಚೋಳಭೂಪರನದಿ(ಧಿ)ಪಂಗೆ ಬಿಟ್ಟವೆಸದಿಂ ನಡೆ ಪೊಕ್ಕಲೆನಲ್ಕೆ ಮಾಡಿದಾಚರಸ[24]ನಲೆನ್ತು
ಪೇಲಿಸುವೆಟುಂ(ವುಂ)ಟುಕ ಮಂಡಳಿಕಬ್ರು(ವ್ರ)ಜಂಗಳಂ || ವ್ರಿ(ವೃ) || ಮಿಕ್ಕ ನಿಜಪ್ರತಾಪದೊಳಿ ಬೆಂದವ-
ವೊಂದರಬಾಡವಲ್ಲ ಲೆಕ್ಕಕ್ಕೆ ಕಳಿಂ[25]ಗವಂಗವಿಷಯಂಗಳಲೆಂದೊಡೆ ಬೋ(ಭೋ)ಜನ(ನಂ) ಪ್ರದೇ*ಶಕ್ಕದಿಯಿಟ್ಟ
ಸಯಿ(sc. ಸೈ)ನ್ಯವ ಸಮನ್ವಿತವೊಂಮೆಯೆ ನುಂಗೆ ತೀಗುಗುಂ ರಕ್ಕಸನನ್ತೆನಲ್ [26]ಧುರದೊಳಾಚರಸಂಗಿದಿರಾಂಪ
ಗಾಂಪರಾರ್ || ಕಂ || ಎನೆ ನೆಗಳ್ದಚನ್ರಿ(ನೃ)ಪಾಳನ ತನುಜಾತಂ ವಂದಿಕಲ್ಪಭೂಜಾತಂ [27]-
ಸಜ್ಜನನುತನಭಿನವಭೋಜಂ ಮನುಜಮನೋಜಂ ನೆಗಳ್ತೆಯಿಂ ಪೆಂಮನ್ರಿ(ನೃ)ಪಂ || ವ್ರಿ(ವೃ)ತ್ತ ||
ಬಿಂಗಿರಿಚೇರಚೋಳಮಳೆ(ಳ)ಯಂ ಮರೆಯಿಳ್ [28]ತುಳು ಕೊಲ್ಲ ಪಲ್ಲವಂ ಕೊಂಗುಣನೆಂಬ ವಾಡಿ ಬನವಾಸೆ
ಕದಂ(ದಂ?)ಬಳಿಹಯ್ವೆಯೆಂಬ ದೇಶಂಗಳನೊತ್ತಿಯಾಳ್ದ ವಿಭು ಹೊಯ್ಸಳನಂ [29]ಬೆದಱಿಟ್ಟು ಮತ್ತಮಾತಂಗಘ-
ಟಾಳಿಯುಂ ಪಿಡಿದನಾಹವದೊಳ್ ಕಲಿ ಪೆಂಮಭೂಭುಜಂ || ಆತನನುಜಾತನತಿವಿಖ್ಯಾತ(ತಂ) ಗುಣಾಂ(ಣಾ)-
[30]ನ್ವಿತನಮಳಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿವಧೂಟೀಪ್ರೀತನನತಾರಿನ್ರಿ(ನೃ)ಪನಿಧೂರ್ಗ್ಗ(ದೂರ್ಗ್ಗ)ತಂ ಚಾವುಂಡಭೂಪನಪ್ರ(ಪ್ರ)ತಿರೂಪಂ || ವ್ರಿ-

* This letter,—ದೇ,—was at first omitted in the original and is to be found in the next line between the ರಾ and ರ್ of ಗಾಂಪರಾರ್.

(ವೃ) ॥ ಅನತಾರಾತಿನ್ರಿ(ನೃ)ಪಾಳ[31]ರಂ ಬೆದಷೆ ಬೆಂಕೊಂಡರ್ತ್ಥಮಂ ವಸ್ತುವಾಹನಮಂ ಪಂದಿರ ತಂಗಮಂ ಗುಡಿಗಳಂ ಗೂಡಾರಮಂ ನಾಡುವುಂ ಮುನಿಸಿಂದಿಕ್ಕಿರ್ಳ[32]ಗೊಳ್ಪುದೇಂಬುದೆ ವಿನೋದಂ ತಂನೊಳೆಂಡಂ(ದಂ)ದು ಪೇಳ್ ಘನಸೌ(ಶೌ)ರ್ಯ್ಯಂಬಡೆದಿಪ್ಪರಾತರ್ತ್ತದರ್ಪ ಚಾವುಂಡಾವನೀಪಾಳನೊಳ್ ॥ ವ್ರಿ-ವೃ) ॥ ಕಂಡತಿಭಕ್ತನಾ[33]ದನರವಿಂದಭವಂ ಘುರದಲ್ಲಿ ನಿಂದು ಮಾರ್ಕ್ಕಂಡನನಂಗನೊಲ್ದಿರೆದವಂ ಧನದಂ ಸರೆ ತಂನನೀ ಧರಾಮಂಡಳದಲ್ಲಿ ನೋಳ್ಪೊಡೆ ನು[34]ತಂ ವಿಬ್ಧಂ(ಬುಧಂ) ನೆಷೆ ಬಂಣಿಸಲ್ಕೆ ಚಾವುಂಡ-ನ್ರಿ(ನೃ)ಪೇಶ್ವರಂ ಧರೆಗೆ ದೇವನೆನಿಪ್ಪುದಿಂ(ದಿ)ದೇಂ ವಿಚಿತ್ರ(ತ್ರ)ಮೋ ॥ ಕಂ ॥ ತೊಡರದೆ ನಿಜಾಂ-ಶ್ರಜಾಳದ ತೊಡರೊಳ್ [35]ಸುರಯುವತಿಜನದ ತೋಳ್ಗಳ ತೊಡರೊಳ್ ತೊಡರದೆ ಪೋಪರೆ ಬಿರುದಿಂ ತೊಡರ್ದಡೆ ಚಾವುಂಡಭೂಪನೊಳ್ ರಿಪುಭೂಪರ್ ॥ [36]ವ್ರಿ(ವೃ) ॥ ಮಹಿಯೊಳ್ ಮಾಣಾಂತೊಡಂದಾ ತ್ರಿಪುರವಿಜಯನಾಭೀಳಭಾಳಸ್ಥಳೀದ್ರಿ(ದೃ)ಗ್ದಾ(ಗ್ದ)ಹನಜ್ವಾಳಾಳಿರ್ಘುಘುರ್ಘ(ಬ್ಘು)ರ್ಘು (ಬ್ಘು*)ಗಿಲೆನುತಳುರ್ವ್ವಂ(ರ್ವಂ)ತು[37]ಗ್ರ(ಗ್ರ)-ತೋಪಾಗ್ನಿಯಿಂ ವಿಗ್ರ(ಗ್ರ)ಹದೇತಂ ಬೇಗುವೆಂತುಂ ಮುಳಿದಡೆನಿಸನೇ ವೀರಚಾವುಂಡಭೂಪಂ ಮಿಹಿರಪ್ರೋದ್ಯತ್ಪ್ರತಾ[38]ಪಂ ಶರಣಾಗತಕುಭ್ರಿ(ಭೃ)ತ್ಪಾಳನಾಬ್ಧಿಸ್ವರೂಪಂ ॥ ಜನದ ಮನಕ್ಕೆ ರಾಗಮನೊಡರ್ಚ್ಚಿಪ ವೈರಿಜನೇಶ್ವರಾಂಗನಾ-ಜನದ ಮೊಗಕ್ಕೆ ಕಪ್ಪನೆ [39]ಸಮರ್ಪ್ಪಿಪ ಸದ್ಬುಧಸತ್ಕವೀಂದ್ರಸಜ್ಜನರ್ಗೆ ಸುವರ್ಣ್ನಮಂ ಪಡೆದು ಪೆರ್ಚ್ಚಿಪ ವೀರಚವುಂಡಮಂಡಳೇಶನ ಸಿತಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿ ನಿರ್ಮ್ಮಳೆ[40]ಯಿನಿಪ್ಪುದು ಧಾತ್ರಿ(ತ್ರಿ)ಗೆ ಚಿತ್ರ(ತ್ರ)ಮಲ್ಲದೇ ॥ ಅನ್ತೆನಿಸಿದ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾಮಂಡಳೇಶ್ವರಂ ಚಾವುಂಡದೇವರಸರರ್ಧ್ಧಂ(ರ್ದ್ಧಾಂ)ಗಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀ[41]ದೇಮಲದೇವಿಯರ ದಶದಿಗ್ವರ್ತ್ತಿಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿಯೆಂತೆಂ-

* This syllable is repeated unnecessarily and is superfluous to the metre as well as to the sense.

ದೊಡೆ ॥ ವೃ(ವೃ) ॥ ಪರಿಜನಪಾರಿಜಾತಲತೆ ಸಿ(ಶಿ)ಷ್ಟಜನೇಷ್ಟಜನಾಭಿವಾಂಛಿ[42]ತೋತ್ಕರಸುರಧೇನು ಬೇಳ್ಪುತ
ಶವರ್ಮ್ಮನೆ ಥೇ(ದೇ)ಮಲದೇವಿಯಿಂದು ಬಿತ್ತರದೊಳೆ ಬಂಣಿಕುಂ ಧರೆ ಚವುಂಡನ್ರಿ(ನೃ)ಪಾಳಮನಸ್ಸ[43]ರೋ-
ಜಿನೀವರಕಳಹಂಸೆಯುಂ ಗಿರಿಸುತಾಚರಣಾಬ್ಜಯುಗಾವತಂಸೆಯುಂ ॥ ಕಂ ॥ ಪತಿಭಕ್ತಿಯಿಂದರುಂಧತಿ । ಮತಿಯಿಂ
[44]ಭಾರತಿ ಸುಭಾಗ್ಯದಿಂ ರತಿಯಿಂದೀ ಕ್ಷಿತಿಯೊಳ್ ಚವುಂಡಭೂಪನ ಸತಿ ದೇಮಲದೇವಿಯಂ ಜಗಂ
ಬಂ(ಬ)ಣ್ಣಿಸುಗುಂ ॥ ವೃ(ವೃ) ॥ ಜಳಮಿನೆ ದೇ[45]ಹಕಾಂ(ಕಾ)ನ್ತಿ ನಳ ತೋಳ್ಗಳೆ ನೋಡೆ
ತರಂಗಮಾಲೆ ಕಣ್ಗಳೆ ವಿಕಚೋತ್ಪಳಂ ನಗೆ ಮೊಗಂ ಕಮಳಂ ಕುರುಳಾಳಿ ಷಟ್ಪದಾವಳಿಯಿನೆ
ಚಕ್ರ(ಕ್ರ)[46]ವಾಕಕುಚೆ ದೇಮಲದೇವಿ ಸರೋವಿಳಾಸದಿಂ ತಳೆದಳನೂನಸಾಗರೆ ಚವುಂಡನ್ರಿ(ನೃ)ಪಾಳಮನೋಮರಾ-
ಳಮುಂ ॥ ವೃ(ವೃ) ॥ ಯಿ(ಎ)ನಿಪಾ [47]ದೇಮಲದೇವಿಗಂ ನೆಗಳ್ದ ಚ(ಚಾ)ವುಂಡಾವನೀಶಂಗವಿಂಬಿನೆ
ಕೌಶಲ್ಯೆಗಮೊಪ್ಪುವಾ ದಶರಥಂಗಂ ರಾಮಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಧರಜ್ಜ್ವನಿಯಿಪ್ಪಂತಿರಲಾಚಿ[48]ದೇವನುಮನನ್ತ್ಪದಾರ್ಯ್ಯಪೆಂಮಾಡಿಯು(ಯುಂ)
ಘನಸೌ(ಶೌ)ರ್ಯ್ಯಗರ್ವ್ವಿತಸಾದರಪ್ರ(ಪ್ರ)ತಿಮತಿಜೋವರ್ತ್ತಿಸತ್ಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿಗಳ್ ॥ ಕಂ ॥ [49]ವೀರಾರಿಕುವರಗಜಕಂಠೀ-
ರವನುಗ್ರಾರಿಸಮರಭೈರವನೆಸೆದಂ ಧಾರಿಣಿಯೊಳಾಚಿದೇವಕುಮಾರಂ ಭಯ[50]ಲೋಭದೂರನಬ್ಧಿಗಭೀರಂ ॥ ವೃ(ವೃ) ॥
ಎಱಗಿ ಶರಣ್ಯಮೆಂದಡದನಾನಪೆಯಿಂ ಪಗೆ ಮುಟ್ಟಿದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಣ್ದೆಱೆದ ಜವಂ ಕನಲ್ದ ಕುಳಿಕೋ[51]ರ-
ಗನೊಟ್ಟಿದ ಕಿಚ್ಚು ಮುಟ್ಟಿವಂದೆಱಪ ಸಿಡಿಲ್ನ ಕೆಳಲ್ಪ * ಮ್ರಿ(ಮೃ)ಗರಾಜನಿದಿರ್ಚ್ಚಿದ ಮ್ರಿ(ಮೃ)ತ್ಯ್ಯ(ತ್ಯು)
ವಟ್ಟೆ ತಿನ್ನಱಗುಲಿ ಮಾರಿಯಿಂಬರರಿ[52]ವೀರಕುಮಾರಕಸಾಚಿದೇವನಂ ॥ ವಚನ ॥ ಅನ್ತು ನೆಗಳ್ತೆಗಂ

* Perhaps ಕೆರಳ್ದ, which must then for the sake of the metre be read as if written ಕೆಳ್ದ, is intended.

ಪೊಗೞ್ತೆಗಂ ನೆಲೆಯೆನಿಸಿದ ಕುಮಾ[53]ರವ್ರ್ಯರಸು ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾಮಂಡಳೇಶ್ವರಂ ಸಾಹಸೋತ್ತುಂಗಂ ಭುಜಬ-
ಳಭೀಮಂ ವೀರಚಾವುಂಡದೇವರಸರ್ ಕಿಸುಕಾಡೆಪ್ಪತ್ತುಮಂ [54]ಬಾಗಡಗೆಯೆಪ್ಪತ್ತುಮಂ ಕೆ(?ಕೇ)ಳವಾಡಿಮುಂನೂಱು-
ಮವಾದಿಯಾಗಿ ಪಲವುಂ ದೇಶಂಗಳಂ ಸುಖಸಂಕಥಾವಿನೋದದಿಂದಾಳ್ದು ರಾಜ್ಯಂಗೆಯ್ಯು[55]ತ್ತಮಿರೆ [।] ಶ್ರೀ-
ಮತ್ ಪಿರಿಯರಸಿ ದೇಮಲದೇವಿಯರುಂ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ಕುಮಾರ ಆಚಿದೇವನುಂ ತಂನ ಕುಮಾರವ್ರಿ(ವೃ)-
ತ್ರ್ಯ(ತ್ತಿ)ಯಾೞ[56]ಕೆಯ ಪಟ್ಟಣಂ ಪಟ್ಟದಕಿಸುವೊೞಲ ಚೆಲ್ವದೆಂತೆಂದೊಡೆ ॥ ವ್ರಿ(ವೃ)ತ್ತ ॥ ಕುನ್ತಳದೇಶಕಾನ್ತೆಯ
ಲಲಾಟದವೊಲ್ಕಿಸುಕಾಡುನಾಡು ಚೆಲ್ವಂ ತ[57]ಳೆದೊಪ್ಪಿ ರಂಜಿಸುಗುಮಂತದಱೊಳ್ ರತ್ನೋ* ದ್ಧಪಟ್ಟಮೆಂಬಂತಿರೆ
ಪಟ್ಟಣಂ ಕಿಸುವೊೞಲ್ ಸಲೆ ಶೋಭಿಸುತಿರ್ಕ್ಕುಮೇ ಪು[58]ರೋಪಾಂತಮನೆಯ್ದೆ ಬಂಣಿಪಡೆ ವಾಸುಗಿಯುಂ
ನೆಱೆಯುಂ ನಿರಂತರಂ ॥ ನ್ರಿ(ನೃ)ಗನಹುಶ(ಷ)ನಳಪುರೂರವಸಗರಾದಿನ್ರಿ(ನೃ)ಪರ್ಗ್ಗೆ ಪಟ್ಟವರ್ಧ್ಧ(ರ್ದ್ಧ)ನ[59]ನಿಳಯಾ
ಜಗದೊಳೆನಲ್ ಕಿಸುವೊೞಲಿಂ ಮಿಗಿಲೆನಿಸುವ † ಕ್ಷೇಶ್ತ್ರ(ತ್ರ)ವೊಳವೆ ಧಾತ್ರೀ(ತ್ರೀ)ತಳದೊಳ್ ॥ ವ್ರಿ(ವೃ) ॥
ಬೆಳಸಿದ ನಂದನಾವಳಿಗಳಿಂ ತಿೞ[60]ದೊಪ್ಪುವ ಪೂಗೊಳಂಗಳಿಂ ಮಲಹರಿಯೆಂಬ ಪುಣ್ಯಾನದಿಯಿಂ ಬ(ಬೆ)-
ಳೆದೊಪ್ಪುವ ಕೆಯ್ವೊಲಂಗಳಿಂ ಕಮಳವನಂಗಳಿಂ ದುಲಿವ ಕೋಕಿಳಕೀರಚಕೋರಸಾರಿಕಾ[61]ಕುಳಕಳಹಂಸೆಯಿಂ
ಕಿಸುವೊೞಲ್ ಕರವೊಪ್ಪುಗುಮೆಂತು ನೋರ್ಪ್ಪಡ(ಡೇ) ॥ ಕಂ ॥ ಭವಭವನಂಗಳನಂಬುಜಭವಭವನಂಗಳ-

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* To be read, for the sake of the metre, as if written ರತ್ನೋ.

† For the sake of the metre ಎನಿಪ would be a better reading than ಎನಿಸುವ,

ನನೂ[62]ನವಸುದೇವತನೂಭವಭಳನಂಗಳಿನೇನುದು ಭವಭವನವೊ ಸಿರಿಗೆ ಕಿಸುವೊಳಲ್ ವಸುಮತಿಯೊಳ್ ||
ಅನ್ತೆನಿಸಿದ ರಾಜ[63]ಧಾನೀಪಟ್ಟಣಂ ಪಟ್ಟದಕಿಸುವೊಳಲಂ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಪಿರಿಯರಸಿ ದೇಮಲದೇವಿಯರುಂ ಶ್ರೀಮ-
ದಾಚಿದೇವಕುಮಾರರುಂ ಕುಮಾರವ್ರಿ(ವೃ)ತ್ತಿಯಿಂ[64]ದಾಳ್ದು ಸುಖದಿಂ ರಾಜ್ಯಂಗೆಯ್ಯುತ್ತಮಿರ್ದ್ದು ಧರ್ಮ್ಮಪ್ರತಿ-
ಪಾಳನಚಿತ್ತರಾಗಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಪೂರ್ವ್ವದರಸುಗಳ್ ಬಿಟ್ಟ ಧರ್ಮ್ಮಂಗ[65]ಳ್ ದೇಶಕಾಲಸ್ಥಿತಿಯಿಂ ನಡೆಯದುದಂ
ವಿಚಾರಿಸಿ ನೋಡಿ ದಕ್ಷಿಣವಾರಣಾಶಿಯೆನಿಸಿದ ಕಿಸುವೊಳಲ ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ವಿಶ್ವೇಶ್ವ[66]ರದೇವರೆನಲುದಿತೋದಿತವಾಗಿ
ಅವತರಿಸಿದ ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ವಿಜಯೇಶ್ವರದೇವರ್ಗ್ಗೆ ಸ(ಶ)ಕವರ್ಷದ ಸಾಸಿರದೆಂಭತ್ತನಾಲ್ಕೆ(ಲ್ಕ)ನೆಯ ಸು[67]ಭಾನುಸಂವತ್ಸರದ
ಜೇ(ಜ್ಯೇ)ಷ್ಟ ಶುದ್ಧ ಪೌರ್ಣ್ಣಮಾಸ್ಯೆ ಸೋಮವಾರ ಸೋಮಗ್ರಹಣವ್ಯತೀಪಾತಸಂಕ್ರಮಣದ ಪುಣ್ಯತಿಥಿಯಲ್
[68]ಶ್ರೀವಿಜಯೇಶ್ವರದೇವರ ಅಙ್ಗಭೋಗರಙ್ಗಭೋಗಕ್ಕಂ ವಲ್ಲಿಯಾಚಾರ್ಯ್ಯರ ಗ್ರಾಸವಾಸಕ್ಕಂ ಶ್ರೀಸೂರ್ಯ್ಯಾಭರಣ[69]-
ಪಣ್ಡಿತದೇವರ ಪಾದಪ್ರಕ್ಷಾಳನಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವ್ವಕಂ ಸರ್ವ್ವಬಾಧಾಪರಿಹಾರವಾಗಿ ಮಾಣಿಕೇಶ್ವರದ ಕೋಲಲ್
ಬಿಟ್ಟ [70]ಮತ್ತರ್ ಮೂನೂಱು ೩೦೦ [। ಅದ]ಱ ಚತುಸ್ಸೀಮೆ [।] ಮೂಡಲಯ್ಯವೊಳೆಯ
ಹೊಲಂ ಮೇರೆ । ತೆಂಕಲ್ ಮಲಪ್ರಹಾರಿ ಮೇರೆ । ಪ[71]ಡುವಲ್ ಪಿರಿಯಾನೆಗಲ್ಲು
[ಮೇರೆ । ಬಡ]ಗಲ್ ಪರ್ವ್ವಳಬೆಟ್ಟಂ ಮೇರೆ । ಅದಹೊಳಗೆ ಗದ್ದೆ ಮತ್ತರೊಂದು ।
ಊರಿಂ ಮೂಡಲ್ ಹೂವಿನ ತೋಂಟಂ ಮತ್ತರೊಂ[72]ದು ೧ [।] ದೇವರಪುರದಿಂ ತೆಂಕಲ್ * ...ಳಿ-
† ......ದು । ನಿ(?)ಕಲ್ಲಿ ಗಾಣಂ ನಾಲ್ಕು [॥] ಅಲ್ಲಿಯೊಕ್ಕಲಿಂಗೆ ಆಯ ದಾಯ ದನ

* One letter effaced.
† Two or three letters effaced.

ಬಳ ಮನೆ ದೆಱ(ದೆಸೆಗೆ?)[73]ಯೊಂಸು(?)ದಿ(?)ಲ್ಲ ಸರ್ವ್ವಬಾಧಾಪರಿಹಾರವಾಗಿ ಕೇಮ[ಲ]ದೇವಿಯರುಂ ಶ್ರೀ-
ಮದಾಚಿದೇವಕುಮಾರನುಂ ಬಿಟ್ಟರ್ । ಮತ್ತಂ ದೇಸಿಗಳಪ್ಪ ಫೇಳಯಸ(ಸೆ)ಟ್ಟಿ[74]ಯರ್ ನಡೆವ* ......
.....................ಕಾಗಿಣೆಯಂ ಬಿಟ್ಟರ್ । ನೇಣಕಾಱರ್ ವೀಸಂ ಕಾಗಿಣೆಯಂ ಬಿಟ್ಟರ್ [।]
ಮತ್ತಂ ಕಿಸುಕಾಡೆ[75]ಪ್ಪತ್ತಱ † ....ಪ್ಪಿನ ಪಡಗೆಗೆ ಮಾನಂ
ಮುಱುಮೊಟಿ(ಟ್ಟಿ?)ಗೆ ಮಾನವೆರಡಂ ಬಿಟ್ಟರ್ [॥] ಶ್ರೀ [॥]‡

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* This part of the inscription was imperfectly chalked when the photograph was taken; about seven letters, probably clear in the original, are illegible here.

† In the same way about twenty letters are illegible here.

‡ After this the stone is blank for a space equal to three lines. Then follows an addition, in characters of the same age and standard, of at least ten lines; but they were so imperfectly covered with chalk when the stone was photographed that the latter portions only of the first six or seven lines are all that can be distinctly made out, and no connected transcription can be offered. It would appear as if the whole of this additional inscription is clear enough in the original to be read and copied.

No. V.[1]

Ôm! Reverence to Śiva! Reverence to Śambhu, who is resplendent with a *chowri* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds!

Hail! He [2], the most excellent one,—(the colour of whose body is as) black as a bee, and whose feet are placed upon the substantial rays of the tiaras of all the happy immortals who bow down before him,—acquired both the earth and the ocean.

The ocean,—from which the moon arose [3]; which is the home of the goddess of fortune [4]; which is adorned with the mountains that fled to it for protection [5]; which is the place of the production of ever-new jewels; and the surface of which is the favourite couch of Mukunda [6],—is marked as if with a signet with (the earth which is) the habitation of men which is decorated with plungings into the waters of rivers which are vocal through their lines of surging waves caused by the motion of the fishes which are driven to and fro by the play of the tortoises and the Pâṭhîna fishes and the alligators and crowds of elephants mad with passion.

To the south of the mountain Mêru, which is esteemed the tiara of the earth which is charming as being considered to have that same ocean for the girdle that encircles its waist, there is the good and spotless land of Bharata; and to the south of this there is the charming country of Kuntaḷa.

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[1] This incription is edited from Plate No. XVI of a photographic collection of inscriptions in Dhârwâḍ and Maisûr edited in 1866 by Mr. T. C. Hope, Bo. C. S., for the Committee of Architectural Antiquities of Western India. The original is a stone-tablet nine feet high in a temple at Paṭṭadakal in the Bâdâmi Tâlukâ of the Kalâdgi District. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, a *linga* and priest in a shrine; on the right of it, a figure of Basava, with the sun above it; and on the left of it a cow and calf, with the moon above them.

[2] *Sc.* Vishṇu who, in his incarnation as Kṛishṇa, was born with a black or blue-black skin.

[3] The moon, amongst other things, was produced from the ocean when it was churned for the sake of the nectar by the gods and demons.

[4] The goddess of fortune, Śrî or Lakshmî, according to one legend sprang from the froth of the ocean when it was being churned.

[5] Some of the mountains are supposed to have taken shelter in the ocean to escape having their wings cut off by Indra.

[6] *Sc.* Vishṇu who sleeps on the ocean, having the hoods of the serpent Śêsha for a canopy and the coils of his body for a couch.

Many (kings),—who were the jewelled earrings of the race of the Chaḷukyas; who were considered to be the receptacles of endless happiness; and who were as mighty as lions in rending asunder the heads of the infuriated elephants that were their foes,—governed it. Among them (was);—

Hail!—Sôma, the son of king Vikramâṅka,—who was the beautiful autumn moon of the sky which was the prosperous family of the Chaḷukyas; who was worthy to be praised by the whole world; who was possessed of wealth that sufficed to gratify the desires of lovely women; who placed the lotuses which were his feet on the heads of the kings of Andhra, Draviḷa, Magadha, and Nêpâḷa; who was lauded by all learned men; who was a very king Sarvajña[7] among kings.

His son, Jagadêkamalla,—whom no one dared oppose; who was endowed with all good qualities; who was a valorous universal emperor; who was renowned; and who was the destroyer of hostile rulers of the earth,—was glorious.

His younger brother was Nûrmaḍitaila,—who was kind towards those who were skilled in rending asunder the infuriated elephants that were his proud foes; who had for a banner his good and spotless fame; who was ever eager for the taste of war.

He who played the part of a bee in ever being in attendance upon the lotuses which were his feet was king Châvuṇḍa,—who was born in the Sindakuḷa; who was the lord of all the proud universal rulers of the earth; who was esteemed a very Pârtha[8] among fortunate kings. Victorious is he, the king who excels in impetuosity,—who is the stage for the dances of the dancing-girl who is the goddess of victory; who has conquered (in) the battle-field; who has broken the pride of arm of his enemies; who excels in the virtue of generosity; whose mind contains all knowledge; who associates with learned men of various kinds. Hail!; the brave king Châvuṇḍa is the sun of the white lotuses which are those who are born in the Sindavaṁśa; the lotuses which are his feet are shaken to and fro by the many head-ornaments of the kings who bow down before him; he has driven out numbers of his enemies; he is worthy to be praised by the kings of Gûrjara, Andhra, Draviḷa, Magadha, Nêpâḷa and other countries; his

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[7] '*Sarvajña*', *omniscient*, is an epithet of Śiva; I do not know of any particular king to whom this epithet is applied.

[8] A metronymic of Yudhishṭhira, Bhîma, or Arjuna.

glory is perpetual; he is possessed of a very powerful army. And the lineal descent of this same Great Chieftain king Châvuṇḍadêva is this:—

Glorious was king Âchugi, who was esteemed the glory of the Sindakuḷa,—who broke down the courage of the hostile chieftains; who was possessed of stability equal to that of the mountain Mandara; who was a very Puraṁdara [9] in respect of his might; who was possessed of unequalled prowess.

The uterine brother of the thus-mentioned chieftain Âchugi was king Nâka, who was a very Wielder of the thunderbolts [10] towards the mountains which were the arrogant and brave hostile kings; (and also) king Siṁha, and king Dâsa, and king Dâma who abounded with the valour of fierce demeanour, and king Châvuṇḍa, and king Châva who was a very Chârudatta[11] to supplicants.

The famous king Bamma was born, amidst the praises of mankind, to king Âcha among them, and, becoming a universal emperor, he acquired distinguished power and eminence of bravery.

His younger brother was king Siṅga, and his [12] son was the famous king Âcha, who was renowned in the world,—who was as it were a second Mandhâta [13], and who was endowed with surpassing courage. How shall we liken the arrogant crowds of chieftains to king Âcha who, having proudly and valorously given Gôve and Uppinakaṭṭe to the flames, made the kings of Kaḷiṅga and Vaṅga and Maru and Gûrjara and Mâḷava and Chêra and Chôḷa (subject) to his sovereign, so that he might say to them, with such a command as is used in the case of those who are subject to compulsory and unpaid labour, 'Walk on, O slave!'? In his surpassing brilliance they were all burned up, so that not one king's town remained to be enumerated in the districts of Kaḷiṅga and Vaṅga; who were foolhardy enough to withstand in war king Âcha who, in such a way as to be compared with a demon, first swallowed and then vomited forth Bhôja together with his troops which had invaded his country?

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9 'The destroyer of cities,'—Indra.

10 Indra.

11 Perhaps the character of this name in the drama of Mṛichchhakaṭikâ.

12 *i.e.* Siṅga's.

13 An ancient king, the son of Yuvanâśva.

The son of king Âcha who was thus famous was king Pemma who was a very Kalpa-tree (in respect of his liberality) to panegyrists; who was praised by good people; who was as it were a second Bhôja; who was pleasing to mankind by reason of his daring. Having frightened and put to flight the lord Hoysaḷa who had ruled with severity over the countries of Cheṅgiri, Chêra, Chôḷa, Maḷaya, Maḷeyel, Tuḷu, Kolla, and Pallava, the city of Koṅguṇa, and the countries of Banavâse and Kaḍambaḷe and Hayve, the brave king Pemma seized in war a multitude of infuriated elephants.

His younger brother was king Châvuṇḍa who was very famous,—who was possessed of good qualities; who was dear to his bride that was his spotless fame; who was avoided by the hostile kings who bowed not down before him; who was without a rival. Tell me now, who are there who have acquired sufficiently great courage to withstand king Châvuṇḍa when they consider that his pastime is to frighten and pursue the hostile kings who bow not down before him, and then in his wrath to assail their wealth, their substance, their chariots, their troops of wives, their temples, their tents, and their countries? In respect of his great devotion he was a very Lotus-born [14]; taking up his resolute stand in war he pierced (his enemies) like Anaṅga [15]; he was verily (to be likened to) Dhanada upon the earth; he was, if you regard it, praised and learned;—if, then, you give him his full meed of praise, how is it wonderful that the king Châvuṇḍa is called a very god upon earth? If the hostile kings with (the proclamation of) their titles opposed king Châvuṇḍa, they (were straightway ingloriously put to flight and so) departed without the honourable decoration of their entrails (torn out in a glorious death) and without enjoying the embraces of the arms of the nymphs of heaven (who are the reward of such as die bravely). If any one opposed him in the world, then the brave king Châvuṇḍa,—whose spreading radiance was like that of the sun, and who protected the kings as the ocean did the mountains that fled to it for shelter,—when he was angry, was like him who conquered the three cities, so that the battle-field was scorched up just as the body (of Kâmadêva) was burned up amidst the crackling of the consuming flames of the terrible eye in his forehead. The white fame of the brave chieftain Châvuṇḍa,—who conferred happiness upon mankind; who darkened (with sorrow for the death of their husbands)

14 Brahmâ.

15 'The incorporeal one,'—Kâmadêva, the god of love.

the faces of the lovely women of the hostile kings; and who bestowed gold in abundance upon excellent learned men and good poets and worthy people,—is considered spotless; is not this a wonder in the world?

If you ask for a description of the fame, which extended to the ten regions [16], of Dêmaladêvi who was the wife of the fortunate Great Chieftain king Châvuṇḍadêva who has been thus described:—Saying that Dêmaladêvi was a very creeper of the Pârijâta-tree (in respect of her liberality) to her attendants, a very cow of the gods to (gratify) the many desires of excellent people and friends, a very mother to those who begged of her,—mankind greatly praised her who was the female swan of the lotus-pool which was the heart of king Chavuṇḍa, and who was the ornament of the two lotuses which were the feet of the daughter of the mountain. The whole world praised Dêmaladêvi, the chaste wife of king Chavuṇḍa,—saying that she was a very Arundhati[17] in respect of her devotion to her husband, a very Bhârati[18] in respect of her intellect, and a very Rati[19] in respect of her charms. The lustre of her body was the water; if you regard it, her delicate arms were the lines of waves; her eyes were the opening buds; her smiling mouth was the lotus; and the curls upon her forehead were the black bees;—thus did Dêmaladêvi, whose breasts were like two Chakravâka birds, in the semblance of a lake attract with perfect affection the swan which was the heart of king Chavuṇḍa.

Just as Râma and Lakshmîdhara were born to Kauśalye[20] and the charming Daśaratha, so to Dêmaladêvi, who has been thus described, and to the famous king Châvuṇḍa were born Âchidêva and the generous Pemmâḍi, who were imbued with great courage and with fame that was ever unequalled in its radiance. The prince Âchidêva, who was far removed from fear and avarice and was as profound in his character as the ocean, was a very lion to the elephants which were the hostile kings and a very Bhairava [21] in war to his fierce enemies. The brave hostile princes say of Achidêva that he knows not (how to

[16] The four cardinal points of the compass, the four intermediate points, the zenith, and the nadir.

[17] The wife of Vaśishṭha and the pattern of conjugal excellence.

[18] Sarasvatî, the goddess of speech and learning.

[19] The wife of Kâmadêva and the goddess of beauty.

[20] Kauśalyâ was the mother of Râma, but the mother of Lakshmîdhara or Lakshmaṇa was Sumitrâ.

18 ★ [21] Śiva, as the type of fierceness and cruelty.

punish) if they prostrate themselves and ask him for protection, but, if they meet him in enmity, he is a very open-eyed Java [22], or an angry serpent-king, or a heaped-up fire, or a thunderbolt that falls till it strikes its mark, or an enraged lion, or Death in front of one, or Mâri [23] who consumes everything as she pursues.

While the fortunate Great Chieftain the brave king Châvuṇḍadêva,—who excelled in impetuosity and who was very terrible by reason of the might of his arm,—in conjunction with the princes,—who were in this fashion the abiding-places of glory and the objects of praise,—was ruling, with the diversion of joyful conversations, the Kisukâḍu Seventy, the Bâgaḍage Seventy, the Kêḷavâḍi Three-hundred, and several other districts, if you ask after the excellence of Paṭṭadakisuvoḷal [24] which was the city of the regency of the chief queen, the fortunate Dêmaladêvi, and the prince the fortunate Âchidêva:—

The district of Kisukâḍu, which was like the forehead of the lovely woman who was the country of Kuntaḷa, was excellent and charming, and in it the city of Kisuvoḷal, which might be called its jewelled diadem, was very beautiful; even Vâsugi [25] can never properly praise the country that surrounds that town. Is there any holy place on the surface of the earth that surpasses Kisuvoḷal which was the place of the coronation of Nṛiga, and Nahusha, and Naḷa, and Purûrava, and Sagara, and other kings? With its groves that are carefully tended, with its pellucid tanks set round with flowers, with its sacred river called the Malahari, with its fertile fields, with its beds of water-lilies, and with its swarming cuckoos and parrots and Chakôra birds and cranes and geese, Kisuvoḷal is truly very charming. With its shrines of Bhava[26], its shrines of the Lotus-born, and its perfect shrines of the son [27] of Vasudêva, Kisuvoḷal is verily the earthly birth-place of the goddess of fortune.

While the chief queen, the fortunate Dêmaladêvi, and the prince, the fortunate Âchidêva, were happily governing as regents the capital of Paṭṭadakisuvoḷal which has been thus described,—having deliberated on the continuance of the pious grants that were made there by former

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[22] Yama, the god of death.
[23] The goddess of pestilence.
[24] Probably the old form of the name of Paṭṭadakal itself.
[25] The serpent-king Vâsuki, who has two thousand tongues.
[26] Śiva.
[27] Kṛishṇa, *i.e.* Vishṇu.

kings who were intent upon preserving religion,—on a holy lunar day which combined a *vyatîpâtâ* with an eclipse of the moon, on Monday the day of the full-moon of the bright fortnight of the month Jyêshṭha of the Subhânu *saṁvatsara*, which was the year of the Śaka one thousand and eighty-four,—having washed the feet of Śrî-Sûryâbharaṇa-paṇḍitadêva,—they allotted, free of all opposing claims, to the god the holy Vijayêśvaradêva who was the representation on earth of the holy Viśvêśvaradêva of Kisuvoḷal which was esteemed the Vâraṇâśi of the south[28], three hundred *mattars* in the circle of Mâṇikêśvara for the purpose of the *aṅgabhôga* and *raṅgabhôga* of the god Śrî-Vijayêśvaradêva, and for the nourishment and clothing of the priests of that place; the four boundaries of that land are,—On the E., the lands of Ayyahoḷe are the boundary; on the S., the river Malaprahâri is the boundary; on the W., a stone called the stone of the great elephant is the boundary; and on the N. the hill called Parvaḷabeṭṭa is the boundary: there is one *mattar* of wet-crop-land in it. To the E. of the village (there was given) one *mattar* of garden-land, and to the S. of Dêvarapura . . . . four oil-mills. Dêmaladêvi and the fortunate prince Âchidêva granted to the agriculturists of that place privileges and contributions and cattle and rent-free service-lands and houses and taxes. And the merchant Phêḷiyaseṭṭi of that country allotted a *kâgiṇi* . . . . And the ropemakers allotted one *visa* and one *kâgiṇi*. And . . . . of the Kisukâḍu Seventy allotted one *mâna*[29] on each large basketful of . . . . and two *mânas* on each three loads of a porter. May it be well![30]

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[28] A hill in the neighbourhood of Bâdâmi and Paṭṭadakal is so covered with *liṅgas* as to be still called Dakshiṇakâśi, 'the Kâśi or Benares of the south'.

[29] '*Mâna*',—the measure intended here is probably *a handful*; but '*mâna*' means also *sixteen seers*.

[30] See note to line 75 of the text.

No. VI.

[1]ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗಶಿರಶ್ಚುಂಬಿಚಂದ್ರಚಾಮರಚಾರವೇ [।] ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯನಗರಾರಂಭಮೂಲಸ್ತಂಭಾ[2]ಯ ಶಂಭ-
ವೇ ॥ ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ವಿನತಸಮಸ್ತಾಮರಮಕುಟನಿಕಟವಸ್ತುಗಭಸ್ತಿನ್ಯ[3]ಸಾಂ(ಸ್ತಾಂ)ಘ್ರಿ ಪಿ(ದ್ವಿ)ರನೀಲಿಂ(ಲಂ)
ಸ(ಶ)ಸ್ತಂ ಪಡೆದಂ ಧರಿತ್ರಿಯುಮನ(ನಂ)ಬುಧಿಯುಮ ॥ [4]ವ್ರಿ(ವೃ) ॥ ಉದಿತೇಂದು ಶ್ರೀನಿವಾಸಂ
ಶರಣಾಗತಕುಭ್ರಿ(ಭೃ)ಧ್ರಾ(ದ್ರಾ)ಜಿತಾ(ತಂ) ನೂತ್ನರತ್ನಾಬ್ಯ್ಯ(ಭ್ಯ್ಯ)ಧ(ದ)ಯಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಂ [5]ಮುಕುಂಧ(ದ)ಪ್ರಿಯಶಯನತಟಂ ಕೂ-
ರ್ಮ್ಮಪೀಠೀನನಕ್ರಾ(ಕ್ರೋ)ನ್ನಧ(ದ)ಮಾತಂಗಾಟಿಕೇಟೀತಟಿತ[6]ಜಳಚರಾಸ್ಫಾಳಕಲ್ಲೋಳಮಾಳಾನಧ(ದ)ನರ್ಧ್ಯಂ(ರ್ದ್ಯಂ)ಭಃಪ್ಲವಾಳಂಕರಣಾನ್ವೃಜ-
ಗಧಾ(ದಾ)ವಾಸಮುಧ್ರಂ(ದ್ರಂ). ಸಮುಧ್ರ(ದ್ರಂ) ॥ [7]ಕಂ ॥ ತದುಧ(ದ)ಧಿಮೇಖಳೆಯೆನಲೊಪ್ಪಿ(ಪ್ಪಿ)ಧ(ದ) ವಸುಧೆಗೆ
ಮಕುಟವೆನಿಪ ಮೇರುಗೆ ತೆಂಕಲ್ ಸದಮಳಚ(ಭ)ರತಾ[8]ವನಿಯಂತದರೊಂದಂ ತೆಂಕಲೆಸೆವ ಕುಂತಳವಿಶ(ಷ)ಯಂ ॥
ಅಧ(ದ)ನಾಳ್ಧ(ರ್ದ)ವ(ರ)ರಂ(ನಂ)ತಸುಖಾಸ್ಪದವೆ(ರೆ)ನಿಪ ಚಳುಕ್ಯವಂ[9]ಶರತ್ನೋತ್ತಂಶ(ಸ)ಮ್ಮ್ಮದವದರಿಹಸ್ತಿಮಸ್ತಕವಿದಳನಕಂ(ಕ)-
ಣ್ಠೀರವಪ್ರತಾಪರನೇಕರ್ ॥ ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಸಿಂದವಂ[10]ಶೋದ್ಬ(ದ್ಭ)ವಕಮಳವನಾದಿತ್ಯನಾನಂ(ನ)ಮ್ನ(ಮ್ರ)ಭೂಭೃನ್ಮಸ್ತಾಳಂಕಾ-
ರವಸ್ತುಬ್ರ(ಪ್ರ)ಜವಿಲುಳಿತವಿನ್ಯಸ್ತಥಾ(ಪಾ)ಧಾ(ದಾ)ಬ್ಜನ[11]ಸ್ತಾರಿಸ್ತೋಮಂ ಗೂರ್ಜ್ಜರಾಂದ್ರ(ಧ)ದ್ರವಿಳಮಗಧನೇಪಾಳಭೂಪಾಳಕಾದಿ-
ಪ್ರಸ್ತುತ್ಯಂ ನಿತ್ಯತೇಜಂ ಪ್ರಬ[12]ಳಬಳಯುತಂ ವೀರಚಾವುಂಡಭೂಪಂ ॥ ಜಯತಿ ವಿಜಯಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನರ್ತ್ಯ(ರ್ತ್ತ)ಕೀ-
ನಾಟ್ಯರಂಗಾ(ಗೋ) । ವಿಜಿತ[13]ಸಮರರಂಗೋ ವೈರಿಧೋ(ದೋ)ರ್ಧ್ದ(ರ್ದ್ದ)ಪ್ಪರ್ಭಂಗಃ । ವಿತರಣಗುಣ-
ಶೃಂಗೋ ವಿಶ್ವವಿಧ್ಯಾಂ(ದ್ಯಾಂ)ತರಂಗೋ । ವಿವಿಧ[14]ವಿಬುಧಸಂಗಾ(ಗಃ) ಸಾಹಸೋತ್ತುಂಗಭೂ(ಭೂ)ಪ(ಪಃ) ॥

ಅನತಾ೦ಾಶಿನ್ನಾಪಾಳರಂ ಬೆಡಪೆ ಬೆಂಕೊಂಡತ್ಥ(ರ್ತ್ಥ)ಮಂ [15]ವಸ್ತು ವಾಹನಮಂ ಪೆಂಡಿರ ತಂಡಮು
ಸುತಿಗಳ೦ ಗೂಪಾರನುಂ ನಾಡುಮಂ ಮುನಿಸಿಂಧಿ(ದಿ)ಕ್ಕ್ರ್ಕಳ[16]ಗೊಳ್ಪುದೆಂಬುದೆ ವಿನೋದಂ ತ೦(ತ)ನ್ನೊ-
ಳಿಂದಂದು ಪೇಳ್ ಘನಸೌ(ಶೌ)ರ್ಯ್ಯಂಬಡ(ಡೆ)ದಿಪ್ಪುರಾತ್ಶೊರ್ತ್ರದುರ್ದ್ದ(ರ್ದ್ದ) ಚಾ[17]ವುಂಡಾವನೀಪಾಳನೊಳ್ ||
ಅನ್ತೆನಿಸೀ(ಸಿ)ದ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾಮಂಡಳೇಶ್ವರಂ ಚಾವುಂಡರಸರ[18]ವರಧ್ಧಾರ್ಂ(ದ್ಧಾರ್ಂ)ಗಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಸಿರಿಯಾದೇವಿಯರ ಧ(ದ)-
ಶಧ(ದಿ)ಗ್ವತ್ತಿರ್ಕೀತ್ತಿರ್ಯಿಂತೆಂಧ(ದ)ಡೆ || ಕಂ || ಪತಿಭಕ್ತಿಯಿ(ಯಿಂ)[19]ದರು(ರುಂ)ಧತಿ ಮತಿಯಿಂ ಭಾರತಿ
ಸುಬಾ(ಭಾ)ಗ್ಯದಿಂ ರತಿಯಿಂದೀ ಶ(ಕ್ಷಿ)[ತಿಯೊ]ಳ್ ವ(ಟ)ರಿ(ವುಂ)ಡುಬಂ(ಭೂ)ಪನ ಸ[20]ತಿ ಸಿರಿಯು(ಯಾ)-
ದೇವಿಯುಂ ಜಗಂ ಬಣ್ಣಿ ಸ(ಸು)ಗು(ಗುಂ) || ವ || ಅನ್ತೆನಿಸಿದ ರಿರಿಯು(ಸಿರಿಯಾ)ದೇವಿಗ(ಗಂ)
ಛಾಕು೦ಧಾ(ಚಾವುಂಡಾ)ವನೀಶಂ[21]ಗ(ಗಂ) ನೆಗತ್ತ್ರಗಂ ಶೀಗತ್ತ್ರಗ(ಗಂ) ನೆಲೆಯಿನಿಸಿಧ(ದ) ವೀರಬಿಜ್ಜಲದ(ದೇ)ಧ(ವ)ಬಿ(?)-
ಜ್ರ(?)ವದೇವಕುವಾರರ್ ಶ್ರೀ[22]ಮತ್ ಕಿಸುಕಾಡೆಪ್ಪಳ್ಳ(ತ್ತುಮಂ) ಬಾಗವ(ಡ)ಗೆಯಿಪ್ಪತು(ತ್ತು)[ಮಂ*] ಕೆ(?ಕೇ)-
ಧ(ಳ)ವಾಡಿ[ಮೂನುಱುಮಂ ಸುಖ†]ಸಂಕಥಾ(ಥಾ)[ವಿ][23]ನೋದಪಿಂ(ದಿಂ)ದಾಳ್ದು ರಾಜ್ಯಂಗ(ಗೆ)ಯ(ಯ್ಯು)[ತ್ತ‡ಮಿರೆ]
§..........................ಳನೆಯು [24]ವಿರೋಧಿಸಂವ[ತ್ಸರದ] . ||.................................

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* This letter is omitted altogether in the original.

† Faint traces of letters are discernible here.

‡ The first part of the first letter,—ತ್ತ,—is discernible.

§ About sixteen letters here are too faint in the photograph to be read.

|| There are traces of at least three more lines, but this part of the stone, as also the last two lines given above, was not properly covered with chalk before the photograph was taken, and consequently the letters are so faint that no more can be made out.

No. VI.[1]

Reverence to Śambhu, who is resplendent with a *chowri* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds!

Hail! He, the most excellent one,—(the colour of whose body is as) black as a bee, and whose feet are placed upon the substantial rays of the tiaras of all the happy immortals who bow down before him,—acquired both the earth and the ocean.

The ocean,—from which the moon arose; which is the home of the goddess of fortune; which is adorned with the mountains that fled to it for protection; which is the place of the production of ever-new jewels; and the surface of which is the favourite couch of Mukunda,—is marked, as if with a signet, with (the earth which is) the habitation of men which is decorated with plungings into the waters of rivers which are vocal through their lines of surging waves caused by the motion of the fishes which are driven to and fro by the play of the tortoises and the Pâṭhîna fishes and the alligators and crowds of elephants mad with passion.

To the south of the mountain Mêru, which is esteemed the tiara of the earth which is charming as being considered to have that same ocean for the girdle that encircles its waist, there is the good and spotless land of Bharata; and to the south of this there is the charming country of Kuntaḷa.

Many (kings),—who were the jewelled earrings of the race of the Chaḷukyas; who were considered to be the receptacles of endless happiness; and who were as mighty as lions in rending asunder the heads of the infuriated elephants that were their foes,—governed it.

Hail! The brave king Châvuṇḍa is the sun of the white lotuses which are those who are born in the Sindavaṁśa; the lotuses which are his feet are shaken to and fro by the many head-ornaments of the kings who bow down before him; he has driven out numbers of his

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[1] This inscription is edited from Plate No. I of Mr. Hope's work referred to in Note 1 to No. V. The original is a stone-tablet in a Śaiva temple at Aihoḷe in the Hunagund Tâlukâ of the Kalâdgi District. The emblems at the top of the tablet are:—In the centre, a standing figure of a god or goddess which I am unable to particularize; on the right of it, two indistinct seated figures, with the sun above them; and on the left of it, a cow and a calf, with the moon above them.

enemies; he is worthy to be praised by the kings of Gûrjara, Andhra, Draviḷa, Magadha, Nêpâḷa, and other countries; his glory is perpetual; he is possessed of a very powerful army. Victorious is he, the king who excels in impetuosity,—who is the stage for the dances of the dancing-girl who is the goddess of victory; who has conquered (in) the battle-field; who has broken the pride of arm of his enemies; who excels in the virtue of generosity; whose mind contains all knowledge; who associates with learned men of various kinds. Tell me now, who are there who have acquired sufficiently great courage to withstand king Châvuṇḍa when they consider that his pastime is to frighten and pursue the hostile kings who bow not down before him, and then in his wrath to assail their wealth, their substance, their chariots, their troops of wives, their temples, their tents, and their countries?

And if you ask for a description of the glory, which extended to the ten regions, of Siriyâdêvi who was the wife of the fortunate Great Chieftain king Châvuṇḍa who has been thus described:—Mankind praise Siriyâdêvi, the virtuous wife of king Chavuṇḍa, saying that she is a very Arundhati in respect of devotion to her husband, a very Bhârati in respect of her wisdom, and a very Rati in respect of her beauty.

While the princes, the brave Bijjaladêva and Bijravadêva (?),—who were (born to) the thus described Siriyâdêvi and king Châvuṇḍa, and who were the abiding-places of glory and the objects of praise,—were governing, with the diversion of joyful conversations, the Kisukâḍu Seventy, the Bâgaḍage Seventy, and the Kêḷavâḍi Three-hundred, ... of the Virôdhi *saṁvatsara*, (being the year of the Śaka era) . . . . and four, ...

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Art. VI.—*Additional Remarks on the Age of the Naishadhîya.*

By G. Bühler, Ph. D.

Read 18th August 1874.

About two years ago I had the honour to read before the Society a paper on the age of Śrîharsha, the author of the *Naishadhîya mahâkâvya*, in which, relying on the authority of the *Prabandhakosha* of Râjaśekhara, I attempted to show that Śrîharsha belonged to the latter half of the twelfth century of our era. My paper has since been freely discussed, especially in the *Indian Antiquary*, and various objections have been brought forward against the conclusions at which I arrived. It will be now my aim to complete my former article, to meet the remarks of my critics, and to show that the facts alleged by them have either no existence, or do not form such formidable obstacles to my theory as might appear at first sight.

The main points which I brought forward in my first paper were—

1stly—Râjaśekhara states that Śrîharsha lived at the court of a king named Jayantachandra, who ruled Benares.

2ndly—This Jayantachandra is no other than Jayachandra, the last of the Râṭhor princes of Kânoj, who ruled also in Benares, and was dethroned by the Musalmans in 1195.

3rdly—Śrîharsha states that he was honoured by a king of Kânyakubja or Kânoj.

4thly—Râjaśekhara states incidentally in another part of his work that the first copy of the *Naishadhîya* was brought into Gujarat by Harihara during the reign of Râṇâ Vîradhavala (*circa* 1235 A.D.), and that the latter chief's minister Vâstupâla obtained a copy of it.

I admitted, however, that Râjaśekhara's narrative was not in every respect trustworthy. I mentioned also that Dr. FitzEdward Hall asserted the occurrence of a quotation or quotations from the *Naishadhîya* in the *Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa* of Bhoja of Dhârâ, composed in the first half of the 11th century. But I stated that the latter assertion required verification, as the quotation might have been interpolated by a later hand.

Against this the following objections have been brought forward. My friend Mr. K. T. Telang, who in the course of an inquiry into the age of Udayanâchârya, the author of the *Kusumâñjali*,* was led to discuss Śrîharsha's times, arrived at the conclusion that Śrîharsha must be placed in the 9th or 10th century, not in the 12th. The reasons given by him for this conclusion are—

1stly—That Śrîharsha's *Naishadhîya* is quoted in the *Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa*.

2ndly—That Vâchaspatimiśra, a writer of the eleventh century, wrote a refutation of Śrîharsha's philosophical work, the *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhâdya*.

3rdly—Sâyaṇa-Mâdhava in the *Śankaravijaya* names Śrîharsha as one of the contemporaries of the great Vedantist.

Mr. Telang finally denies the credibility of Râjaśekhara's story, because he is obviously inaccurate in many details.

In addition to the points brought forward by Mr. Telang, Mr. Growse† has called attention to a passage of the *Prithirâj Râsâu* in which Chand, who is said to have lived at the end of the 12th century, and, if Râjaśekhara's story be true, must personally have known Śrîharsha, places in an enumeration of his predecessors the Śrîharsha who celebrated king Nala before Kâlidâsa.

Two other writers in the *Indian Antiquary*, Bâbu Râmdâs Sen and Mr. Pûrnaiya, have defended my views, or rather Râjaśekhara's statement, and attempted to weaken especially the force of the objection

* *Ind. Ant.* vol. I., pp. 297, 353.

† *Ind. Ant.* vol. II., pp. 213, 306.

brought forward by Mr. Growse. Grateful as I am for their support, I regret that I cannot base my defence on the arguments advanced by them.

In dealing with the objections, those which are based on passages tending to show that Śrîharsha was known to authors of the eleventh century claim the precedence, and among them the supposed quotation or quotations from the *Naishadhîya* in the *Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa*. As regards this point, which Dr. Hall first brought forward, I am, after a careful investigation of all the poetical passages quoted in the *Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa*, in a position to assert that *no* verse from the *Naishadhîya* occurs among them. Last year I procured from Benares a copy of the *Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa*, and of its commentary the *Ratnadarpaṇa*, which latter, however, includes the first three chapters only. My Śâstrî, Mr. Vâmanâchârya Jhalkikar, next made a complete alphabetical index of the verses quoted in the work, checking one copy with the help of the other. He then compared every line of the printed copy of the *Naishadhîya* with the index. The result obtained is that stated above. With this method of operation I think it very unlikely that Mr. Vâmanâchârya should have made a mistake, and this is so much less probable as Dr. Aufrecht, who in the *Catalogue of Oxford MSS.* gave a list of the authors and works quoted in the *Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa*, was likewise unable to trace the *Naishadhîya* in it. Dr. FitzEdward Hall's statement must therefore either be based on a mistake or on an interpolated copy.

The second objection, that Vâchaspatimiśra, a writer of the eleventh century, wrote a refutation of Śrîharsha's *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhâdya*, has no greater force than the first. It is perfectly true that a work entitled *Khaṇḍanoddhâra* has been written by *a* Vâchaspatimiśra. Paṇḍit Vishveshvar Naval Gosvâmî of Delhi possesses a copy of it, and was kind enough to show it to me on my late visit to the town. But there is nothing to show that this Vâchaspatimiśra was the author of the eleventh century. The name Vâchaspatimiśra is common to several writers on philosophy and on law. The *Khaṇḍanoddhâra* is not included in the list of books of the ancient Vedantist.* Besides the paṇḍits of the Benares College, whom I consulted on the age of the *Khaṇḍanoddhâra*, declared that it was well known to them as a modern work, and was composed not by the old Vâchaspati, but by a later homonymous author.

* See FitzEdward Hall, *Cat.*, p. 87; Colebrooke, *Essays*, I. 532.

In the third place, the passage from Chand's *Prithirâj Râsâu* deserves consideration. It occurs in the 5th stanza of the poem, which concludes the *mangalâcharaṇa* or invocation, and of which a spirited translation has been given by Mr. Growse. There the poet pays homage, 1*st*, to the serpent-king *Śesha*; 2*ndly*, to *Vishṇu*; 3*rdly*, to *Vyâsa*; 4*thly*, to *Sukadeva*; 5*thly*, to *Śrîharsha*, who on king *Nala's* neck let fall the wreath of victory; 6*thly*, to *Kâlidâsa*, who wrote a chronicle of king Bhoja; 7*thly*, to *Daṇḍa-mali*; 8*thly*, to *Jayadeva*, the author of the *Gîtagovinda*, whom he calls 'great names of elder fame.' Mr. Growse is of opinion that the names of the poets mentioned there stand in chronological oṛder, or at least that Chand intended to arrange the poets named according to what he considered their order of succession. Mr. Telang, whose indefatigable industry in the search for passages bearing on the Śrîharsha question cannot be enough commended, has already shown that Śrîharsha knew Kâlidâsa* and quotes him in the *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhâdya*. It is therefore impossible to maintain that Chand enumerates the poets in their proper order. But it would be sufficient to make Râjaśekhara's story doubtful if Chand, who certainly lived in the twelfth century, had written of Śrîharsha as of a poet of bygone ages. If, therefore, Râjaśekhara's story is to be maintained as trustworthy, it must be shown either that another interpretation of Chand's passage is admissible, or that the passage does not belong to Chand, but to some later writer. In my opinion the passage certainly allows of an interpretation according to which it does not stand in opposition to the assumption that Chand and Śrîharsha were contemporaries. Chand, I think, gives in the above lines not a chronological catalogue, but he enumerates some of the authors best known to him, in what he considers their *order of merit*. Under this supposition it is not strange that the author of the *Naishadhîya* should be placed before Kâlidâsa. For, to the purely native taste, the *Naishadhîya* appears now, and has appeared for many centuries, preferable to all the other Mahâkâvyas. Our Śâstrîs now study it more frequently, and praise it more highly, than even Kâlidâsa's works, and it has been commented on more frequently than any other poem. It must not be urged that Chand calls Śrîharsha's '*a great name of elder fame*.' For this expression does not make it necessary to assume that he preceded Chand by centuries. It will be explicable on the assumption that Śrîhar-

* I assume here for argument's sake that the Kâlidâsa mentioned by Chand and the great poet of that name are identical, though the point is open to doubt.

sha's fame was well established before Chand wrote. The narrative of the *Prabandhakosha* makes it probable that the *Naishadhîya* was written before the year 1174 A.D. For the story of the pilgrimage of Jayachandra's Pradhân to Somanâtha, on which he came into contact with Kumârapâla of Aṇhilvâḍ, is told after the story of Śrîharsha's journey to Kaśmîr, which took place when he had completed his work. Chand's *Râsâu*, on the other hand, must be considerably later, as it contains the narrative of Prithurâja's death, and of the fights of his son Rayaṇasîha or Ratnasiṁha with the Ghorîs.

I cannot leave this subject without stating that the chief bard of the Mahârâja of Jodhpur, Kavirâj Murârdhân, stated to me that he did not believe that Chand really wrote the *Prithirâj Râsâu*. According to his opinion, the work belongs to the fourteenth century at the earliest. The reasons for his opinion were, *1stly*, that Chand, according to the tradition of the bards, had been killed with or shortly after his master, while the *Râsâu* described Prîthirâj's death and the combats of his son with the Musalmans; *2ndly*, that the language of the *Râsâu* contained many Persian words, while it was not probable that the Hindî of the 12th century, when the Musalmans had as yet little influence in India, should show such a mixture. I am not in a position to judge fully of the value of these remarks, though the second especially seems to me to deserve careful consideration.

I need only add that should the authorship of the *Râsâu*, on further inquiry, prove doubtful, its passage mentioning Śrîharsha would become of very small importance.

The fourth objection which now remains is Mr. Telang's discovery that, according to Mâdhava's *Saṁkshepaśaṁkaravijaya*, the *Khaṇḍanakâra* was refuted in a disputation by the great Vedantist. On this point I have only to mention that Mâdhava's work is devoid of all historical value. It is nothing but a mass of legends heaped one upon the other for the glorification of the great master. To give only one instance of its inaccuracies, Śaṁkara is made to refute Bâṇa and Mayûra, the two well-known poets of the 7th century, and, besides the *Khaṇḍanakartâ*, his predecessor Udayanâchârya. The testimony of such a work ought never to be invoked in chronological questions.

Under these considerations it seems to me that, up to the present, nothing has been brought forward which is calculated to shake Râjaśekhara's statement that Śrîharsha wrote under Jayachandra, in the second half of the 12th century. On the contrary, the fact, which has

now been established, that Śrîharsha is not quoted in the *Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa,* is of great significance. That work is of considerable extent, and cites all the Mahâkâvyas, as well as all other considerable authors, up to the second half of the 11th century. I have also no doubt that it really belongs to Bhoja of Dhâra, as its colophon states, or at least to his *Pandits.* Considering the great reputation which the *Naishadhîya* has always enjoyed, the silence regarding it is almost a proof that it did not exist in Bhoja's time. It may be that other works of Śrîharsha will be recovered, and that we may gain therefrom more authentic information regarding his age. The Jesalmîr Bhâṇḍâr contained only ninety years ago a copy of his *Sâhasânkacharita,* though it is not to be found there any longer. We may therefore hope that one of the other old Bhâṇḍârs of our Presidency will furnish the book, or that the lost Jesalmîr copy may still turn up. But until the time that such fuller and more trustworthy information is forthcoming, I shall hold that Râjaśekhara's statement that Śrîharsha lived under Jayachandra of Kânoj, which is confirmed by Śrîharsha's mention of the king of Kânoj as his patron, gives us reasonable grounds for fixing the age of the *Naishadhîya* in the second half of the 12th century.

P.S.—Shortly after I had read the above paper before the Asiatic Society, large fragments of an unknown commentary on Śrîharsha's *Mahâkâvya,* the *Naishadhadîpikâ* of *Châṇḍûpaṇḍita* came into my hands, which furnish some additional evidence for the recent composition of the poem.

Châṇḍupaṇḍita, who wrote his commentary in the year of Vikrama 1513 at Ḍholkâ, near Ahmadâbâd, calls the *Naishadha* a *new poem* (*kâvyaṁ navam*).* He further states that in his time there existed only one commentary on it, composed by *Vidyâdhara* (*alias* Sàhityavidyâdhara, of which I have found fragments at Jesalmîr and Ahmadâbâd. He also confirms, in the introduction to the first śloka, the story told by Râjaśekhara that *Hîra,* Śrîharsha's father, was conquered in a disputation by a rival, and was avenged by his son. According to Châṇḍû the opponent of Hîra was *Udayana,* and the *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhâdyakhaṇḍana* was the composition by which the latter philosopher's works were demolished.†

* Colophon of Sarga XXII. v. 52.

† The same tradition is also current among the Pandits of Kaśmîr.

These statements go a great way to confirm Râjaśekhara's statement. But I am quite willing to admit that objections on the part of those who wish to establish the claim of the *Naishadhîya* to a higher antiquity are still possible.

In order to enable Sanskritists to judge for themselves the value of Châṇḍû's statements, I give the beginning of the MS. and its end in full. I regret that I am not able to entirely restore the corrupt text.

Introduction.

ॐ नमो विनायकाय । वाग्देवता पटुतरां धियमादधातु
धातुः सुता भगवती स्ववपुर्मयूखैः ।।शेषा हि कुन्दशरदिन्दुकलामराल—
पीयूषहारहरहासमहःसगर्भैः।।१२।।सम्यक्साधूपकरणकलावारलाकेलियोग्ये
सद्विस्तारे विलसति सतां मानसे निर्मले यः ।। स श्रेयस्ते दिशतु सदसत्क्षीरनीरान्तरज्ञो
ब्रह्मानन्दी सुगतिरचनाराजहंसो विवेकः।।१३।। टीकां यद्यपिसोपपत्तिरचनां विद्याधरो निर्ममे
श्रीहर्षस्य तथापि न त्यजति सा गंभीरतां भारती ।। दिक्कूलंकषतां गतैर्जलधरैरुद्गृह्यमाणं मुहुः
पारावारमपारमंबु किमिह स्याज्जानुदघ्नं कचित् ।।१४।। तस्माद्वागधिदेवतां तदनु च श्रीवैद्यनाथं गुरुं
नत्वा भक्तिपुरःसरं कविवरः सम्राट्स्यपत्यमिचित्।। चाण्डूपण्डितसंज्ञितोनिजधिया टीकां व्यलीकां कवेः
श्रीहर्षस्य कृतौ विशेषमधिकं वक्तुं विधत्ते कविः ।। १५ ।।

प्रथमं तावत् कविर्विजिगीषुकथायां स्वापितृपरिभावुकमुदयनमत्यमर्षणतया कटाक्षयंस्तद्ग्रन्थग्रन्थीनुद्ग्रथयितुं खण्डनं प्रारिप्सुश्चतुर्विधपुरुषार्थैरभिमानमनवधीयमानमवधीर्य मानसमेकतानतामानिनाय ।। तथा च श्रीवाराणस्यां मुक्तिक्षेत्रेऽनुभूतपरब्रह्मस्वरूपे गंगादर्शनादिना धर्मकर्ममध्यमध्यासीनोदृष्टिपुरःस्थितायतमेरुशिखरसमसौवर्णनिष्कराशिदर्शनेन वशीकृतार्थपुरुषार्थकृतार्थः । षोडशवर्षाभिर्यौवनवतीभिरपूर्वलावण्यसंपत्तिभिः स्नानोद्वर्तनभोजनाद्युपचारचतुराभिः प्रमदाभिः परिचर्यमाणतया किंक-

14[d] जानुदघ्नं MS. 15[b] स्वपत्यमि° MS.

रीकृतकामपुरुषार्थः ॥ एवं चतुर्भिरपि पुरुषार्थैरनाक्षिप्तहृदयतया ग्रन्थं निर्माय तद्ग्रन्थान् खण्डयन् युक्तिभिः खण्डशः खण्डितवान् । तत्र च कर्कशतर्कोदर्कत्वाच्छृङ्गारादिरसप्रधानानामपरितोषं संभाव्य तदावर्जनाय रसप्रधानं काव्यमिदं चकार ततश्च शास्त्रारम्भे निर्विघ्नेन ग्रन्थसमाप्तये श्रोतृणां मंगलाचरणाय शिष्टाचारपरिपालनाय चाधिकृताभीष्टदेवताभ्यो नमस्कारः प्रतिपाद्यः इत्यादि

Colophon of Sarga XXII.

श्रीमानालिगपण्डितः स्वसमयाविर्भूतसर्वाश्रम-
श्चाण्डूपण्डितसंज्ञितं प्रसुषुवे श्रीगौरिदेवी च यम् ।
बुद्ध्वा श्रीमुनिदेवसंज्ञविबुधात्काव्यं नवं नैषधम्
द्वाविंशे च सवर्णने वितरणं सर्गे स चक्रे क्रमात् ॥ ५२ ॥
श्रीनागरज्ञातिसमस्तगोत्रमुख्योस्ति यः क्षारवटावटङ्कः ।
तस्यान्वयेऽभून्निजवंशभूषावतंसभूः पण्डिततातनामा ॥ १ ॥
तस्मादजायत विशुद्धमतिप्रपञ्च(ः)पञ्चेषुबन्धनपटुर्विबुधोय यज्ञे ।
तस्याङ्गभूरभवदालिगपण्डिताख्यो यो जन्मनः प्रभृति नो वितथं बभाषे ॥ २॥
यो ब्रह्मचारिगृहमेधिवनस्थयत्याख्यानाश्रमान्क्रमवशात्समवाप काले ।
तस्यात्मजः समजनिष्ट समीष्टसोमसंस्थासु तर्पितसुपर्वपतिर्विगर्वः ॥ ३ ॥
यो वाजपेययजनेन बभूव सम्राट् कृत्वा बृहस्पतिसवं स्थपतित्वमाप ।
यो द्वादशाहचयनेऽग्निचिदप्यभूत्सचाण्डूाख्यपण्डित इमां विततान टीकाम् ॥ ४ ॥
श्रीविक्रमार्कसमयाच्छरदामथ त्रिपञ्चाशता समधिकेषु शतेष्वितेषु ।
तेषु त्रयोदशसु भाद्रपदे च शुक्लपक्षे त्रयोदशतिथौ रविवासरे च ॥ ५ ॥
श्रीमत्सांगनृपे श्रीमाधवसंज्ञे महामात्ये ।
धवलक्कनगरमहन्नारायणसंनिधावियं टीका ॥ ६ ॥
निष्पन्ना तदनु पुनर्नारायणमन्त्रिणा लिखिता ।
आचन्द्रार्कं विदुषां नन्दतु हृदयं समाधिगमतीनाम् ॥ ७ ॥
किमपि मुकुटरत्नं नागरश्रोत्रियाणां प्रतिनिधिरिव तेजःसद्मनः पद्मयोनेः ।
विधुरुपशमसिन्धोरालिगो नामधीमानिह समजनि पत्नी गौरिदेवीति चास्य ॥ १ ॥

ककुभिककुभि सन्तः काममन्ये प्रथन्तां तदपि जगति तुल्यो विद्यते नालिगस्य ।
अधुतवनममाङ्गीः कीर्तिसिन्धुर्यदीयो अहमिति गिरिशमौलेर्गर्भकं दाम गङ्गा ॥ २ ॥ (sic !)
हसितशीतमरीचिमरीचयस्तुलितजन्हुसुताजलवीचयः ।
क्षुभितदुग्धधुनीधवबन्धवो धवलयञ्जगदालिगकीर्तयः ॥ ३ ॥
किं वारिणा जलनिधौ जलधौतशैलेप्यप्रीणितार्यनिवहे किमु हेमलक्ष्म्या ।
सत्पात्रपाणिषु सवारिसुवर्णवर्षी व्याख्यायते कविभिरालिगपाणिरेव ॥ ४ ॥
मेरुः स्वर्णमयोप्यसौ कविनृभिः स्तुत्यः (?) कथं कथ्यतां
यः पार्श्वे भ्रमतोपि न स्थितिपदं मित्रस्य चक्रे मनाक् ।
तन्निश्चित्य बुधालिगं गुणिगणश्लाघ्यं वयं मन्महे
दात्रा येन कृतार्थिताः प्रणयिनः सर्वे स्थितिं लम्भिताः ॥ ५ ॥
तदात्मजस्ताल्हणनामधेयो विशारदः शारदचन्द्रकीर्तिः ।
महाक्रतौ ज्योतिषि कर्मकाण्डे क्रमाच्चतुःसंस्थतया प्रयोक्ता ॥ ६ ॥
सम्राट्स्थपत्यमिचिदग्रजन्माग्रगण्यचाण्डूविदुषोनुजन्मा ।
त्रैविद्यवृद्धार्चितसर्वदेवबुधाग्रजन्मा महनीयजन्मा ॥ ७ ॥
श्रीवैद्यनाथाभिधसूक्तिदेवीपदप्रसादोपचितप्रसादैः ।
क्षुप्तां पदैरग्रजभक्तियुक्तः क्वचित्क्वचित्पूरयतिस्म टीकाम् ॥

52[a] त्रिभुवान MS. 1[c] भूंन.° MS. 2[b] जज्ञे MS. 2[c] भूद° MS. 3[a] नस्थपत्या. 3[b] वशान् सममाप MS. 4[d] चण्डु° MS. 2[a] ककुभक° MS. 4[d] दात्रे. 8[a] सूक्ता MS.

ART. VII.—*An Historical and Archæological Sketch of the Island of Angediva.* BY J. GERSON DA CUNHA, M.R.C.S., &c.

Read 14th August 1875.

THE island of Angediva is situated in 14° 44′ N. Lat. and 74° 10′ E. Long. It is about two miles distant from the coast of North Canara, and fifty-one miles south-east of Goa. Irregular in form, it is about three miles long from north to south, and not more than one mile broad at its widest part from east to west, and its area is nearly two square miles. It appears barren and rocky on its western or sea side, but fertile and of a pleasant aspect towards the main, where some cocoanut groves, rice-fields, and one or two orchards of the mango and other fruit trees surrounding a small town fortified by a wall, towers, and a castle, are observed. The strait which separates the island from the continent is safely navigable, being from six to seven fathoms deep, without any hidden shoal or sunken rock. Close to it on the outside the depth is from ten to twelve fathoms. To the eastward of it, near the coast, are two rocky islets which with another about four miles to the south-east contribute to make a pretty good roadstead, where in case of necessity a ship may find shelter during the prevalence of the south-west monsoon.

Within this circumscribed space scenes full of dramatic incidents have been enacted, and the picturesque beauty this isolated little spot in the Arabian Sea displays, as derived from both its geographical position and other natural features, is greatly enhanced when allied to historical associations of no little moment, especially that which has made it the theme for the classical model of the "floating island of Venus," which is one of the most charming episodes in the poem of Camoens. Again, when considered, although summarily, in connection with both its ancient legends and medieval history, or from the earliest mystic times of the Purâṇas to the days when the admiral Vasco da Gama, about the end of the 15th century, on his voyage homeward after the discovery of the route round the Çape, "put into one of the beautiful islands of Angediva" to refit his ships and supply them with wood and water; and the Count of Abrantes, Dom Francisco d'Almeida, in the beginning of the 16th century, laid the foundation of the fortress, which he himself dis-

mantled at the end of a few months; or even as late as the time when Abraham Shipman with his five hundred soldiers sojourned there from April 1663 to October 1665, and having buried in the meanwhile about three hundred of his men* he put this mutilated squadron to sea,—a time that is fraught with subjects for grave reflection, when the British power in India was yet in its infancy, and the littoral provinces of the latter in the height of disintegration,—the island of Angediva commends itself to our attention, and deserves to be studied with more than an ordinary interest.

The origin of the word 'Angediva' has been a topic for various etymological speculations. The Hindus, who believe the island to be situated parallel to the spot where the Goparâshṭra or Gorâshṭra division of the Paraśurâmakshetra begins, consider it to be derived from two Sanskṛit words, *Âdya* and *dwîpa*, meaning 'a primitive island,' in reference to its existence previous to the reclamation of the Koṅkan by that well-known sixth *avatâr* of Vishṇu, Paraśurâma. Others think it to be a corruption of the word '*Ajyadwîpa*,' or 'the island of clarified butter,'—this latter supposition arising from a legend, which is current among the people, to the effect that Paraśurâma intending to celebrate, after the extirpation of the Kshatriyas, the *aśvamedha* or horse-sacrifice, one of the most magnificent of ancient Hindu rites,† at the Harmal mountains in the province of Pernem, and having failed to obtain the clarified butter, so essential to the performance of that sacrifice, in the land newly reclaimed by him from the ocean, and which was then naturally devoid of all such sacrificial materials, got it from the island of Angediva.‡ The Portuguese writers are, however, of opinion that the name of the island is derived from '*Anchediva*,' which, they say, means 'five islands,' and De Barros§ confirms this opinion by stating that there were four other islets around the principal one of the group, to make up the number supposed to be expressed by the composition of the word; while really at present, as above noted, there are only three,

* Hamilton's *A New Account of the East Indies*, Lond. 1744, vol. i., pp. 184 *et seq.*

† In the *Mahâbhârata* a very interesting description of the sacrifice will be found by those who desire to learn its details.

‡ See कोंकणाख्यान, chapters iv. and v.

§ Tome i., pt. i., pp. 407 *et seq.* of the Lisbon edition of 1777, and Lafitau's *Hist. des Descouvertes*, &c., Paris, 1736, tome i., p. 152.

and if the fourth has disappeared within the last three centuries the fact appears to have been too easily forgotten. But '*anche*,'—or '*anke*,' as some chroniclers write it,—in no Indian vernacular, so far as I am aware, means five; and to have such a meaning the name should have been 'Pancha-dvipa.' Another meaning of the word, and that which has, I believe, all presumptive evidence on its side, is derived from '*Ajâdvîpa*,' or 'the island of the goddess Ajâ,' which is a synonym of Mâyâ or Prakriti, and whose temple, standing on the island from very remote times, was, at the time of the persecutions by the Mahomedans, who had taken possession of the island, along with the coast of Canara, in the year 1312 A.D., removed for safety to Ankola, on the main land near Carwar, where it is still existing. The Hindus, as well as other people, are not seldom in the habit of naming places after their own patron saints or tutelary goddesses,—a habit that makes the latter supposition appear the most plausible of all. The islanders, besides, appear to have been very religious, from the mention De Barros makes of their attending to the holy duties (*santos officios*) with an extremely pious zeal.*

Among the Greeks, we are told by Murray,† the island of Angediva was known by the name *Leuke;* and it is said, again, that this was the point where the ancient Greek merchant ships used to meet before entering on the more fertile shores of *Limerikè*, or Canara and Malabar Proper.

D'Anville, however, in his map of Ancient India places the names of *Chersonesus* and *Sesecrienæ* just where the Angediva cluster of islands is situated; whereas Ptolemy assigns to these names places that appear to correspond more correctly with the situation of the Andaman and Nicobar islands, and the *Ilheos Queimados* of the Portuguese, or the Vingorla Rocks, respectively, and has, besides, an *Insula Aegidiorum*, which, from its position on the map and similarity of name, appears to stand for Angediva.‡

* *Decadas*, p. 408.

† Murray's *British India, Hist. and Descript.*, Edin. 1832, vol. i., p. 67.

‡ In Spruner-Menke's *Atlas Antiquus* the name of *Aegidiorum insula* is distinctly written where the Angedivan group of islands is situated, which fact leads to the surmise that these islands may have been known to the classic writers of the West. See also *Ptolemæi Geographiæ Libri Octo*, Amsterdam, 1605; and Vincent's *Voyage of Nearchus, and Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, vol. ii., pp. 422 and 432.

There is no such perplexity, fortunately, respecting the identification of this place with the name as written by a few of the geographers, merchants, and travellers of the Middle Ages, both Europeans and Arabs, who have made but a passing allusion to the island in their works. The famous Ibn Batûta is the only traveller who has left us a faint sketch of what the island was about a hundred and fifty years before the arrival of the Portuguese, without giving its name, although by the aid of the accompanying narrative we are tolerably certain that the island he alludes to is identical with Angediva. Nevertheless, we are grateful to him for the information he has left us about the island and the country around, on account of its referring to a period that has few authentic chronicles or travels to elucidate the history of the western coast of India.

The proximity of this island to that of Sindâbûr is distinctly referred to by Ibn Batûta, but to identify Sindâbûr is itself a point of no little concern in the medieval geography of Western India.

The Arab writers, such as Mâsudi, Edrisi, Abulfeda, Rashîd-ud-din, and others, refer in their works to a populous delta island situated on the western coast of our peninsula which they call Sindâbûr, but have confused its location with Sindan (Sanjan), the St. John's Point of Rennell, and the well-known seaport between Damaun and Bassein.* But the geographical position ascribed to Sindâbûr by Abulfeda and Ibn Batûta, and the data quoted from travellers in their itineraries, as three days' sail to the south of Ṭhâṇâ, and reached immediately before Hunawar (Honore), remove all doubts about this identification, and we know now for certain that it is but modern Goa, which in those times, and probably some centuries before, was classed with Sudhâpura† or Sundâpura, or 'the city of Sunda,' the latter place being along with Goa two of the dependencies of the sovereign of Vijayânagara, the Bisnagar of the Portuguese annalists; while the modern name of Goa appears to be a mere reversion to its Puranic designation of Gomant.

I have advisedly detained myself so long on the elucidation of this point because it is most important for my purpose; for unless

* See Rawlinson, quoted in *Madras Journal*, xiv. 108.

† The name of Sudhâpura in North Canara often occurs in ancient Sanskrit and old Canarese inscriptions: *Ind. Ant.* vol. iv., p. 208. The word Sindâbûr, on the contrary, occurs in no inscription hitherto known. Edrisi, it appears, was the first to mention it, and the Arabs of the Middle Ages are simply responsible for this uncouth designation.

Sindâbûr is identified with Goa—two names standing, as it were, at the opposite poles, and defying identification without the aid of the description of the place, and other circumstances,* which, as being out of place

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* It is to Gildemeister, who, it appears, first recognized the proximity of Sindâbûr to Goa, and to Colonel Yule, the learned interpreter of Marco Polo, I presume, the credit is due of having found out that the Sindâbûr of the Arab writers, and Chintabor and Cintabor of the Catalan maps and of the *Portulano Mediceo* respectively, to be identical with modern Goa, which name had up to this time defied the otherwise accurate researches of D'Anville, Lee, Badger, and others, who have confused Goa with Ibn Batûta's Kâwah, which is but modern Konwai, on the south of the Mahé estuary. Colonel Yule's reasons for identifying Sindâbûr with Goa are:—the number of thirty-six villages mentioned by Ibn Batûta as situated on "an island which, he says, is surrounded by an estuary in which the water was salt at the flood-tide, but fresh at the ebb,"—a description that is applicable only to a delta island like Goa (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. iii.). The latter fact, which is equally mentioned by De Barros (*Dec.* II. liv. v., cap. 1) gave rise to the appellation of '*Tiswady*,' which it has borne up to our own day, and which means thirty villages; and that is really the number of the village communities it contains. Then, again, he refers to Sidi Ali's Turkish book of navigation called *Mohith*, a translation of which has been given by Hammer in the *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. v., p. 464, where there is a section headed "24th Voyage from Koah (Goa) Sindâbûr to Aden," and the traffic between Goa and Aden has been known to have existed from the remotest times. Another argument adduced in support of this identification is that Mâsudi refers to the abundance of crocodiles in the bay of Sindâbûr,—a circumstance that is also particularly referred to by Barros, who mentions as well the legend that they had been introduced there as a "guard against surprises and the escape of the slaves." We now hear little of their great size and number, as mentioned by Mâsudi, but of their existence in the waters of both the Goa rivers—Mandovi on the north, and Juary on the south of the island—little doubt can be entertained.

I should now perhaps refer to other arguments that may serve to strengthen the position the learned editor of Marco Polo has taken in regard to the identification of this apparently insignificant but really valuable landmark in the history of the western coast of India, as well as to discrepancies such as that of Linschoten, who places it below Dâbul, and those of sailing distances between Kuka and Sindâbûr, fortunately not hard to be reconciled, but their array in full here would simply weary the reader; I must, however, give a few. The first argument is the reference Ibn Batûta makes to two cities on the island,—one the old Hindu city, and the other that built by the Mahomedans. This is exactly what we find even now in the island of Goa. The Hindu city, on the banks of the Juary, was built by the Kadambas; while the Mahomedan one, which was first taken possession of by Albuquerque on the 17th February 1510, then fell again into the hands of the Mahomedans, and was retaken by surprise on the 25th November 1510, was hitherto supposed to have been built by the Mahomedans of Honore, who, unable to resist the persecutions of the Hindu king of that country, who was subject to that of Vijayânagara, had taken refuge in Goa, which was then under the government of the Mahomedan king of Bijapur, about the year 1479, and who, under the guidance of Malik Ozen, had laid the foundations of the city captured by Albuquerque in the village of Ella, on the margins of the northern river, Mandovi. The ruins of both these cities are still visible, especially of the latter, but they are, unfortunately, fast disappearing.

Now Ibn Batûta, who left Delhi in the year of the Hijira 743 (A.D. 1342) as an envoy of Sultan Mahomed of the Pathân dynasty to the Emperor of China,

in the text, I have given in a footnote below—the allusion of Ibn Batûta to Angediva cannot be substantiated. Ibn Batûta's *Travels*, therefore, which for accuracy and trustworthiness cannot be equalled, require to be carefully interpreted before we attempt to fill up the gap between the reigns of the Kadambas, Raṭṭas, and Châlukyas on the one hand, and the Mahomedan dynasties on the other, in our annals of Western

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and on his journey to that country met with severe trials and long delays, was, according to his own statement, twice at Sindâbûr. He does not give the date, but it appears that he was there between the years 1342 and 1350 A.D. If the Mahomedan city of Goa was, as stated by the Portuguese chroniclers, built in the year 1479, Ibn Batûta could not possibly have seen it in 1342 and 1350, or else it was built by Mahomedans who, under Malik Tubliga, had settled in Goa between 1312 and 1367, in which year they were entirely driven out by Vidyâranya Mâdhava, the prime minister of Harihara, Râja of Vijayânagara. Though in the interval between this event and the capture of Goa by the Portuguese their hostilities had not quite ceased, and in spite of the reign of the Vijayânagara dynasty, which continued for little more than a century, their skirmishing continued, until again, in 1469, Goa fell into the hands of the Mahomedans, and this time those of the Bâhmanî dynasty of Bijapur, who held it until it glided away into the possession of the Portuguese, there is no document to prove that either of these two peoples built any city in Goa. If the Mahomedans built their own town soon after the conquest in 1312, it is quite evident that it might have been seen by Ibn Batûta. In this case the Portuguese annalists, who assign its foundation to the year 1479, are wrong, or else the passage that refers to the Mahomedan town is a modern interpolation in the travels of Ibn Batûta, for this statement is not found in Lee's translation, but only in the French version by Prof. Defrémery, under the heading *Ibn Bathutah's diaries*, quoted by Colonel Yule. Another fact worth mentioning is that the Mahomedan king of Honore and the Hindu râja of Goa were frequently engaged in war against each other. Ibn Batûta writes:—"I then betook myself to Jamâl-uddin, king of Honore, by sea; who, when I came near, met me and received me honourably, and then appointed me a house with a suitable maintenance. He was about to attend on divine service in the mosque, and commanded me to accompany him. I then became attached to the mosque, and read daily a *khatma* or two. At this time the king was preparing an expedition against the island of Sindâbûr. For this purpose he had prepared two and fifty vessels, which when ready he ordered me to attend with him for the expedition. Upon this occasion I opened the Korân in search of an omen, and in the first words of the first leaf which I laid my hand upon was frequent mention of the name of God, and the promise that He would certainly assist those who assisted Him. I was greatly delighted with this, and when the king came to the evening prayer I told him of it, and requested to be allowed to accompany him. He was much surprised at the omen, and prepared to set out in person. After this he went on board one of the vessels, taking me with him, and then we sailed. When we got to the island of Sindâbûr, we found the people prepared to resist us, and a hard battle was accordingly fought. We carried the place, however, by divine permission, by assault." Again:—"I then returned to Sindâbûr to the king Jamâl-uddin, at the time when an infidel king was besieging the town with his troops. I left the place, therefore, and made for the Maldive islands, at which after ten days I arrived."

See *Ibn Batûta's Travels*, translated by S. Lee, Lond. 1829; Yule's *Cathay, and the way thither*, Lond. 1866, pp. 444, 445, and J. Gildemeister's *Scriptorum Arabum de rebus Indicis*, &c., Bonn, 1838, pp. 46, 47.

and Southern India. Coming as he did in the middle of the long interval between the travels of Marco Polo (1271-94 A.D.) and the awaking of the spirit of discovery in Portugal and the arrival of Vasco da Gama's fleet (1486-98), Ibn Batûta supplies to us the place of both a commentator to the once obscure text of Marco Polo, and that of an accurate, observing tourist, whose truthful remarks bear, moreover, the mark of authenticity stamped on them by his successors the Portuguese writers, to say nothing of such minor authorities who both preceded and followed him, as Bishop Jordanus (1321-30), Friar Odorico (1325-30), Nicolo Conti (1440-50), and others, whose accounts taken together confirm most of his statements.

Ibn Batûta informs us circumstantially that he sailed from this Sindâbûr island and passed over to another small island near it, which, from details he gives, cannot be any other than Angediva. He writes :— " After some days we came to the island of Sindâbûr, in the interior of which are six and thirty villages. By this we passed, however, and dropped anchor at a small island near it, in which are a temple and a tank of water. On this island we landed, and here I saw a Jogee (*yogî*) leaning against the wall of the temple and placed between two idols ; he had some marks about him of a religious warfare. I addressed him, but he gave me no answer. We looked, too, but could see no food near him. When we looked at him he gave a loud shout, and a cocoanut fell upon him from a tree that was there. This nut he threw to us : to me he threw ten dinars,* after I had offered him a few, of which he would not accept. I supposed him to be a Moslem : for when I addressed him he looked towards heaven and then towards the temple at Mecca, intimating that he acknowledged God and believed in Mahomed as his prophet."† A yogi placed between two idols, it appears, could not possibly be a Moslem ; however, that is Ibn Batûta's statement.

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* " The dinar of Ibn Batûta is the *tânga* of other Mahomedan authors, corresponding more or less to the modern rupee :" Col. Yule's *Cathay*.

† Lee's *Ibn Batûta's Travels*, pp. 164, 165. Lee gives a note about the *yogî's* marks of a religious warfare, taking exception to what Apretz has translated as *civi castigationum vestigia impressa erant*, which Lee interprets to the effect that Ibn Batûta really believed the *yogî* to be a Mahomedan, and recognized in him those characters (marks) of promptness and fitness to contend for the Faith, without the actual existence of scars, wounds, and the like, which would then deserve to be named " *castigationum vestigia*."

It was on the 24th September 1498 that Vasco da Gama, on his first voyage homewards after the discovery of the route round the Cape, having departed from Calicut rather abruptly, on account of the unfriendly treatment he met with at the hands of the Zamorin and his people, sailed close by the coast, dropped at Cannanore, visited its king, and, having set sail again, placed, while on the way, a landmark with the name of St. Mary on one of the Mulki Rocks,* opposite Udipi, and then put in at the island of Angediva, where, as Gaspar Correa tells us, "they enjoyed themselves much." Here he sent one of his officers, by name Nicolau Coelho, in an armed little boat (*batel*) as a scout. Coelho, having landed at the island and examined it all around, returned to the ship to inform the admiral that the island had, what appeared to him, a beautiful stone-built church reduced almost to ruins by Mahomedans, as he was informed by the islanders, except its chancel, which was thatched with straw and palm-leaves, and contained in its recess three black stones under the guardianship of a *yogî*. This custodian of the three black stones was living under a stone grotto, and ate of what was given to him from the ships which passed by, and which generally consisted of "rice and dried herbs, because these men do not eat anything else."† Compare this statement with that of Ibn Batûta.‡ Coelho said also that he had discovered good water springs with trees around, and in the upper part of the island a fine tank, ornamented with hewn stones, containing water about four fathoms deep, which was conveyed by a magnificent aqueduct close to the shore, for the convenience of ships putting in there, and nobody could tell him who might have been the author of "this ancient and superb work," as Castera names it ; although De Barros conjectures it to have been built by some powerful prince, without giving his name, who was desirous to promote the well-being of traders by converting a natural reservoir of water, which existed there from olden times, into the beautiful masonry work above described.

* These are three narrow islets called Mulki or Mulpi by the natives, but St. Mary's Isles in the maps, from one of the six cruciform columns of white stone bearing two escutcheons,—one containing the arms of Portugal and the other the armillary sphere of Dom Manuel, and each dedicated to a saint,—that Vasco da Gama carried with him on his first voyage. The landmark of St. Mary's Isle has disappeared.

† Do Barros, *loc. cit.*, p. 362 ; also tome i., part ii., p. 256 ; Stanley's *Gaspar Correa, or Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama*, Lond. 1869, p. 238.

‡ It is most improbable that the *yogî* seen by Ibn Batûta was the same as the one noticed by the Portuguese, although Couto tells us that in the Khanâri caves was seen a *yogî* who was a hundred and fifty years old.

Vasco da Gama, on obtaining the above information, hastened to lay up the supply of fresh water and wood he wanted for his fleet. He stayed there altogether twelve days, for taking on board, besides water and wood, a stock of provisions consisting of figs, cocoanuts, and fowls, of which latter article they bought, according to Gaspar Correa, six for one *vintem* (less than twopence), and for the refitting and careening of his caravels, which operation more than anything else occasioned this long delay at the island. Thenceforward he made this port a favoured anchorage of the Portuguese, thus practically expelling from it the Moors of Mecca, who, according to Cabral,* used to take this route to Calicut, and stop here to take in wood and water, before the arrival of the Portuguese.

A curious incident in connection with Vasco da Gama's stay on the island is the arrival of an embassy consisting of twelve well-dressed men, who came in two boats from the main land, and said they were sent to him by some native prince,—probably the king of Goa,—and brought him as a present a bundle of sugarcanes, which present the admiral was civil enough to accept with thanks, but most decidedly declined to accede to their rather indiscreet request to pay a visit to his ships. Then a Jew,† who spoke the Castilian dialect well and was the captain-major of the fleet of the Sabaio, the ruler of Goa, subject to the king of Bijapur, came on board, making all sorts of friendly overtures, although in reality acting the part of a spy. This man was not only refused admittance on such terms, but was, on the contrary,—the admiral's suspicions having been roused by the islanders against the character of the Moor, who, they said, had been sent from the main land by the native prince to pry into the state of the navigators, and to capture them if possible,—put to the torture until he confessed that the suspicions entertained against him by the islanders were not altogether unfounded. This man was at last known to be a Polish Jew, a native of Posna, in the service of the Sabaio, and was carried

* *Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral*, Lisbon, 1812, p. 118.

† There is still some doubt hanging over the nationality and creed of this personage. Osorius call him a Sarmate by nation and Jew by religion; Gaspar Correa a Grenadine Jew; Castanheda says he announced himself as a Levantine Christian,—hence some annalists called him a Levantine renegade, and state that, while being carried away by Vasco da Gama, at a distance of about two hundred leagues from Angediva he confessed he was a Moor. But it appears that he was really a Jew, and was married to a Jewess who lived in Cochin.

by Vasco da Gama to Portugal, who on converting him to Christianity under the name of Gaspar da Gama—he is sometimes known in the old chronicles as Gaspar da India—stood godfather to him. He was afterwards made a knight by the king, and not only became a valuable acquisition to the Portuguese sailors in their subsequent trips to India, but was again at Angediva with Almeida at the building of the fortress by command of the king Dom Manuel, where he rendered important services. Vasco da Gama then set sail on the 5th of October* for Lisbon, but not before he had signalized his stay on the island by sinking a pirate ship he had taken during the skirmish there, notwithstanding that a ransom of one thousand *fanaos* was offered for it.

In his second voyage, Da Gama having sailed as far as Dâbul, a heavy gale overtook him there at night, and dispersed his caravels, which could only meet to "salute the flag-ship" the next morning, when the gale had a little abated, near Angediva. Here he observed two great barges with armed people coming towards his fleet, which barges, the Jew Gaspar informed him, belonged to the renowned pirate Timoja, who paid part of the plunder to the king of Garsopa, and was going towards Angediva with the intention of taking possession of Vasco da Gama's ships. The latter had scarcely any trouble with him. Waiting until the pirate's '*fustas*,' as they were called, approached near enough, the admiral made short work of them all by discharging his artillery at them, which wrought terrible havoc among the crew of the Malabarese corsair, who was obliged to beat a hasty retreat into the river of Honore, and was eventually brought round, at a later time, to be the steadfast friend of the Portuguese. This action was followed by wanton and unprovoked attacks by the Portuguese on Honore and Batecala, which the humane De Foe has rightly characterized as "acts of murder to punish the robbers."

The fiction of the floating island of Venus, or the enchanted island (*ilha namorada*), as it is called, has been for centuries a bone of conten-

* The Portuguese historians are often at variance with one another in the matter of chronology. Correa says 10th December ; Goez, Castanheda, and De Barros 5th October. The latter have more probabilities on their side. Maffey, who does not care much about dates, only refers to events thus:—"Cum eo responso Gamma Anchedivam insulam petiit, leucas a Calecuto circiter quinquaginta, frequentem nemoribus, et pisce omnis generis apprimè abundantem. Ibi refectis è longa jactatione sociis, navibusque, Deum precatus uti propitius iterum adesset reducemque se optimo Regi propinquis, ac patriæ sisteret ; in Europam cursum intendit." —*Hist. Ind.*, 1590, p. 65.

tion among critics; and their criticism, as the Honourable Mr. Stanley observes, has not in general been fair to Camoens.* Assuming for the nonce,—and there are very good grounds for such an assumption,—that Angediva was the material basis on which the superstructure of the episode of the enchanted island is raised, poetic genius having really the power to impart to the commonest object on earth a hallowed renown, such as the genius of Milton once conferred on the now desolate island of Ormuz, would in itself suffice to raise the islet of Angediva, swampy and pestilential though it be, in the estimation of scholars.

Voltaire, who had otherwise demonstrated to the world in his *Pucelle d'Orléans* that his was not too prudish a nature, pretends to be shocked at the scenes of the island of Venus as described by Camoens. Another critic, and a countryman of the poet, has, as the above-quoted writer remarks, brought the imagery of the '*ilha namorada*' ('Love's own island') to the level of a matter-of-fact description of a vulgar debauch, which he, against all probability and historic grounds, imagines to have taken place at Melinde or Zanzibar.†

But several stanzas of canto IX. of the *Lusiad* plainly indicate that the nymphs and delights of the '*ilha namorada*' are but the honours and glory promised, and won by the companions of Vasco da Gama, for heroic deeds. In this poetic creation Camoens has but faithfully adhered to classical models, as is apparent throughout his poem, and his aim appears to be to endeavour to prove that the great and the good who were admitted to the tables of the gods to drink (to use a local simile) the *amrita* of the mount Meru, or to enjoy the company of the immortals who peopled the Grecian Olympus, were all ordinary men who rose to that high station or were placed there as a reward for their virtues and merit. Again, Duperron de Castera—who for the fantastic explanation he once gave regarding the fables of paganism being found mingled with the legends of Christianity in the poem of Camoens, drew from Voltaire the following sarcasm :—" A la bonne heure, j'y consens ; mais j'avoue que je ne m'en étais pas aperçu," and was often the butt for the satires of the Abbé Desfontaines—remarks, in his *La Lusiade*, Paris, 1735-68, that the fictions of Camoens, like

* See Stanley's *Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama*, Lond. 1869, p. liv.

† See *Carta do Sr. J. G. Monteiro ao Sir Thomas Norton*, Porto, 1849, and *Obras de Luis de Camoens*, Lisbon, 1852, tome i., pp. 500-504.

that which makes the island of Angediva to wander on the waves of the sea, are the more marvellous because they are all founded on history:* for when the pirate Timoja, as Faria says, came forward to attack by stratagem Vasco da Gama's fleet with twelve roving vessels, eight of them were so linked together and covered with boughs of trees that they appeared like a large raft, and had all the appearance of a floating island. Mickle, however, is of a different opinion. He doubts whether the master-hand that wrote "the great epic of commerce" would ever choose so inapt an illustration. Really the genius of Camoens never stood in need of such weak assistance.

The verses on the floating island provided by Venus for the repose and delight of the Portuguese argonaut and his invincible crew, and where their future triumphs and glory in the East are related to them, are so interesting that I cannot forbear from quoting them here. Camoens writes:—

LI.

† Cortando vaõ as naos a larga via
  Do mar ingente para a patria amada,
Desejando prover-se de agua fria
  Para a grande viagem prolongada:
Quando juntas, com subita alegria,
  Houveram vista da Ilha namorada;
Rompendo pelo ceo a mãi formosa
  De Memnonio, suave e deleitosa.

LII.

De longe a ilha viram fresca e bella!
  Que Venus pelas ondas lha levava,

* "Sont d'autant plus merveilleuses, qu'elles ont toutes leur fondement dans l'histoire."

LI.

† Cutting through the waves the ships their weary way
  Pursued over the wide sea to the loved home,
Wanting fresh water, not knowing how they may
  Supply themselves for such a voyage long;
When together they beheld above the spray
  The sight of Love's own island, every one:
Just as through heaven broke the mother bright
Of Memnon, bringing mild beauty and delight.

LII.

From a distance they saw the island fresh and fair
  Which Venus from the waves for them upheaved,

(Bem como o vento leva branca vela),
  Para onde a forte armada se enxergava:
Que porque naõ passassem, sem que nella
  Tomassem porto, como desejava,
Para onde as naos navegam a movia
  A Acidalia, que tudo em fim podia.

LIII.

Mas firme a fez e immobil, como vio
  Que era dos nautas vista, e demandada;
Qual ficou Delos, tanto que pario
  Latona Phebo, e a deosa à caça usada.
Para lá logo a prova o mar abrio,
  Onde a costa fazia huma enseada
Curva e quieta, cuja branca area
  Pintou de ruivas conchas Cytherea.

LIV.

Tres formosos outeiros se mostravam
  Erguidos com soberba gracioza,
Que de gramineo esmalte se adornavam,
  Na formosa ilha alegre, e deleitosa:
Claras fontes, e limpidas manavam
  Do cume, que a verdura tem viçosa;

(Just as the white sails are inflated by the air)
  Where the brave armada the island first perceived:
But, that they might not pass that part of it where
  They should take part; the goddess had contrived
The entrance where the vessels sailed to predispose
By Acidalia, who could do what she chose.

LIII.

But firm she made it, and immovable to the sight
  Of the sailors it seemed, with them in such request;
So Delos stood when Latona there brought to light
  Bright Phœbus and the goddess used to the chase.
Thither then the prow straight through the sea cut right
  To a deep bay wherein the waves were at peace,
Curving and quiet, where of the smooth shining beach
Cytherea with pink and yellow shells painted rich.

LIV.

Three beauteous hills before their eyes appeared,
  Round, smooth, and gracefully with flowers bespread,
Adorned with gramineous verdure, gently upreared,
  And in the delightful isle soft valleys made:
Clear fountains, too, coming from these hills were heard,
  Which whispering limpid among white pebbles strayed;

Por entre pedras alvas se deriva
  A sonorosa lympha fugitiva.

LV.

N'hum valle ameno, que os outeiros fende,
  Venham as claras aguas ajuntar-se,
Onde huma meza fazem, que se estende
  Taõ bella, quanto pode imaginar-se:
Arvoredo gentil sobre ella pende,
  Como que prompto está para affeitar-se,
Vendo-se no crystal resplandecente,
  Que em si o está pintado propriamente.

Os Luziadas, Canto IX.

Dom Francisco d'Almeida, the first Viceroy of the Portuguese settlements in the East—who, being a man of great political sagacity, was fully aware that a small nation of scarcely four millions could not hold large conquests for any length of time without loss of prestige, but had expressed to the King his opinion that they should, on the contrary, strive to confine themselves to obtain supremacy over the sea, which would eventually assert their power over the countries bordering on it, or even secure their territorial dominion, a system that in former times had been successfully practised by the Athenians, and has in our own days with apparent advantage been tried by some of the modern nations—wrote from India to the King, Dom Manuel, that they should build factories and counting-houses only, and a few fortresses for their defence, where needed, on the coast and the adjacent islands, and thus place their trade on a more solid footing, rather than make large territorial acquisitions, which would in the end simply interfere with, if not ruin, their commercial position in Asia, and drive them away from it. His prediction was at last to be fulfilled. This sound policy, was, however,

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Cool and fresh down from the summit's shady source,
The fugitive sonorous lymph derived its course.

LV.

In a pleasant valley, by the hills defended,
  The limpid waters met and joined in one,
Forming a maze, or table, which extended
  As beautiful as fancy e'er gazed upon:
Groves gracefully o'er parts of the shores impended,
  As if they were going to shave, and looking down,
Viewing themselves in the crystal bright presented
  Both accurately and naturally painted.

The Lusiad, Canto IX., translated by
Lieut.-Col. Sir T. L. Mitchell, Kt., D.C.L.

counteracted by the more ambitious views of Alfonso d'Albuquerque, who wished to found, like the Romans, an empire in the East, and amalgamate the Portuguese with the natives,—an experiment that has been found, now that it is too late to repair the evil, to be fruitful of grave evils to both parties. May not this be a warning as well to present and future statesmen and philanthropists of other nations to desist from pursuing any longer a policy inaugurated, so unsuccessfully, by the great founder of the Portuguese empire in the East?

Albuquerque's policy, as foretold by Dom Francisco d'Almeida, could not be followed beyond the government of Dom Joaõ de Castro, or, even allowing for their last reactive efforts, as late as the government of the brave Dom Luis d'Athaide, who, unfortunate man! did really struggle hard against all odds, and perhaps more than any of his predecessors, to preserve the power that was decaying; but the fates were against him, and he succumbed the moment the resources of Portugal were exhausted, and corruption had crept in to precipitate the downfall. No human power could then withstand it, and, it being but natural, it appears strange that some of the later Portuguese writers should attempt to lay all the faults of their impolitic rule at the door of the Spanish yoke. This is, no doubt, the best argument to evade bitter recrimination, which a retrospective glance upon their own past misdeeds might evoke.

The King, quite convinced of the soundness of Almeida's suggestions, wrote back that he wished him especially to have Angediva fortified, from its being situated about the middle of the coast, which, besides affording protection to his trade, would also secure a supply of water for his shipping. Another place which Dom Francisco much desired to possess and fortify along with Angediva was the Mount Dilli, a promontory some sixteen miles north of Cannanore,—the first Indian land seen by Vasco da Gama on his sailing towards Calicut, and at that time the most frequented seaport and emporium, almost all the ships from Mecca, Ormuz, Cambay and Calicut anchoring in the little bay under it.

It was on the 13th September 1505 that Dom Francisco d'Almeida laid the foundation-stone of the Angediva fortress. A curious incident in connection with its foundation is the discovery of some crosses *

* Mitchell, referring to Osorio, says he found many crucifixes of black and red colour; but he is incorrect.

of black and blue coloured wood, found buried underground, while making excavations in the hill, which, along with some images found by Alfonso d'Albuquerque in the building of the old city of Goa, gave origin to the impression that the islands of Goa and Angediva were formerly inhabited by Christians. The fact of the discovery of those pieces of wood in the form of a cross underground does not, however, prove that the place had been inhabited by Christians,—an impression that gave to the pagoda, the ruins of which are still faintly visible there, the name of 'church.' Every one, perhaps, is aware that the Hindus were then, as they are now in some places, in the habit of making an instrument in the form of a cross for taking astronomical observations; and these must have been found when Dom Francisco was laying the corner-stone of the fortress,—not to speak of the phallic triad of the ancients in wood and stone, which has been met with almost everywhere, in all countries and climes, and was a religious symbol in the infancy of modern civilized nations, as it is now among the savages of Africa and America, and of the Pacific.

I must not, however, omit to notice here another supposition,—that of their being relics of the Christians of the Nestorian sect, that once prevailed on, and was spread over, the Indian coast, from the ninth century until the persecutions of the Mahomedans drove them away, or, later still, until the time of Archbishop Menezes, who compelled them to concentrate themselves within the narrow precincts of Travancore and the neighbourhood. I do not wish to enter here into the question whether these are really the remnants of the St. Thomas Christians,—which opinion has, I am afraid, many advocates,—as it is quite foreign to my subject.

But to return to our narrative. The first thing which Dom Francisco d'Almeida did on disembarking at Angediva on the 13th September 1505,—a proceeding which was not opposed by the islanders, who, perceiving his fleet sailing towards Angediva, had hastily and in a fright crossed over to the main,—was to send an able officer, by name Joaõ Homem, to Cannanore, Cochin, and Coulan, with despatches informing the factors settled in those places of his arrival at Angediva; and while fortifying the island he also sent Rodrigo Botelho and Gonçalo de Faria to cruise in the sea between Angediva and Mount Dilli, and to seize every Mahomedan vessel that should happen to sail between those points, and bring it as spoil to him. This petty naval, or rather pirati-

cal, expedition was successful in capturing a number of zambucs with valuable cargoes of spices, timber, and silk.

The building of the fort could not be carried out to the satisfaction of Dom Francisco, from the absolute want of proper cement, such as lime, in the island; but he succeeded in building one, rather hastily, of simple clay and stone. Having done so, and his presence being required elsewhere, he handed over the island to Manuel Paçanha, whom he named Captain of the Fort of Angediva, and for whose nomination he had himself previously solicited the King's approbation. Having completed the building, and having armed one galley and two brigantines, he gave them in charge to another of his officers, by name Joaõ Serraõ, which vessels were afterwards used by Dom Francisco himself in his naval excursions in the Indian Ocean; and having placed, moreover, the administration of the factory established on the island in the hands of Duarte Pereira, who was made its provost or chief, and was assisted by three clerks and other subordinate officers, he left for Cannanore, where he assumed the title of Viceroy.

Scarcely had six months elapsed since Dom Francisco left Angediva when the fortress was besieged by a host of Mahomedans and Hindus who were in the service of the king of Goa,—who had grown extremely jealous of the Portuguese, since they had made an alliance with the king of Honore,—under the command of a Portuguese renegade by name Antonio Fernandes, a carpenter, who had once been left on the shores of Africa, near Quiloa, as a convict by Pedro Alvares Cabral, and, having embraced Mahomedanism under the name of Abdulla, had somehow found his way to India. This man being aware that both Dom Francisco and his son Dom Lourenço were absent from the island, the former at Cannanore and the latter at Calicut, seized the opportunity to risk an attack upon the undefended island. The attempt, the historian* tells us, was made by Fernandes under a promise from the Zabaim (Sabaio) that he would appoint him captain of the fortress of Cintacora, modern Ankola, provided he expelled the Portuguese from Angediva. The bait Fernandes thought was worth catching at, for from the estimate of his character given by chroniclers he could not certainly be above taking the offered bribe.

* De Barros, tome i., pt. ii., p. 419.

The attack was sudden. In the dead of night, or a little before dawn had dispelled the darkness and enabled people to see each other, the landing of the enemy, who brought with them a fleet of sixty sail, took place. The surprise of the descent, however, evoked all the fury of the Portuguese to repel the attack. The moment he was surrounded by the enemy, the valorous captain Manuel Paçanha, knowing well that his fortifications consisted of only a low wall and a tower of clay and stone, which could ill afford him shelter against the showers of shot and arrows of the host of the enemy, with his handful of a garrison sallied forth and at the point of the sword began the slaughter of the foe. The Mahomedans took alarm at the bold front thus shown them, and it really kept them at bay for some time. An unopposed debarkation on the island had raised their hopes and filled their hearts with joy, and they were confident that the firing of a few shots would soon be followed by complete submission and unconditional surrender; but they were mistaken. From the place of their first attack,—which was, as Lafitau expresses it, vigorous,—the Mahomedans were obliged to turn round, mount a hillock, and from under a grove of trees which overhung the fortress pour their shots and arrows into it, so that but for the bravery of the defenders it would have lain at their mercy.

From so favourable a position, gained almost by accident, the Portuguese could not easily dislodge them. Nor did the latter dare to issue from the fort, on account of the danger they incurred of becoming a mark for the enemy. Paçanha, however, was equal to the emergency. In the midst of perils he did not lose presence of mind. To mount his pieces of ordnance on the tower, from whence he could beat down the attacking party, and to place on the wall some of his big mortars with which to sink the fleet in which the Mahomedans had crossed the channel, was an idea put into execution as soon as conceived.

This expedient was very successful, but, in spite of it, the state of blockade lasted for four days and nights continuously, during which the Portuguese could scarcely move from their post of defence. De Barros writes, they did not even care for their meals or sleep. They were ready to sacrifice their lives for the honour of their country; but what caused them the greatest annoyance was the vile language used against them during the calm of the night, and which could distinctly be heard in the fortress, by the renegade captain Abdulla, *alias* Fernandes, who was leading this attack against his own countrymen.

The Mahomedans, who, in spite of their overwhelming numbers, had failed to realize their expectations, being unable to reduce the fortress within that time, and noticing that two Portuguese boats had, at the beginning of the surprise, started to inform Dom Lourenço—who was cruising in the sea close by, and was much feared by the Mahomedans—of the nature of the attack, raised the siege and fled across to the continent as precipitately as they had landed on the island. On the arrival of the reinforcements and provisions sent by Dom Lourenço a council was held, at which it was resolved that as the rainy season was fast approaching, and Cochin, the head-quarters of the troops, too distant to afford it assistance easily, Angediva would be constantly exposed to attack, and, in view of the expense and trouble involved in succouring it, it would not be worth keeping, the fortifications should be razed to the ground and the place abandoned. At the same time Dom Francisco d'Almeida began to build the castle of Cannanore, which also greatly enraged the Moors of that country.* This took place in the month of May 1506.

Some time before the building of the fortress, the well-known traveller Ludovico di Varthema, who was himself in Angediva, refers to the condition of the island thus:—"I quitted this place (Bathacala, modern Sadaśivagaḍ), and went to another island which is inhabited by a certain sort of people who are Moors and pagans. This island is distant from the main land half a mile, and is about twenty miles in circumference. The air is not very good here, neither is the place very fertile. There is an excellent port between the island and the mainland, and very good water is found in the said island."† Here Varthema greatly exaggerates its dimensions.

In the long interval between the dismantling of the fortress by Dom Francisco d'Almeida, or its total abandonment by the Portuguese, and the next historical event of importance in connection with the island,—its occupation by the troops of Sir Abraham Shipman,—it appears that the island was left entirely desolate; so that it became one of the haunts of the pirates of the coast.

* See the letter from the Viceroy, Dom Francisco d'Almeida, to the King, in the *Annaes de Sciencias*, Lisbon, 1858.

† *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*, A.D. 1503 *to* 1508. Translated by J. W. Jones, and edited with notes by G. P. Badger, Lond. 1863, p. 120.

It is Fra Paolino da San Bartolomeo who makes mention of this fact. He writes :— " The capital of the kingdom of *Cannanur,* called also Colanada, lies in the latitude of 11° 50′, and is distinguished by the same name. The whole surrounding district, which towards the north extends as far as the mountain *Illi,* is inhabited by the *Molandis,* who live merely by piracy. These sea-robbers are mentioned by Pliny, Arrian, Ptolemy, and other ancient authors. They unite themselves to other pirates who reside on the *Angedib* islands near Goa, and capture all the small vessels which sail from Goa to Cochin."*

This barefooted Carmelite was in India about the third quarter of the eighteenth century, when the island was again occupied by the Portuguese; and when he states that the pirates "reside on the *Angedib* islands" he most probably refers to a period antecedent to its reoccupation by the Portuguese.

But Pietro della Valle, who passed by the island on the 16th of October 1623, when it was unoccupied, alludes to it thus :—" Ci se fece notte presso a certi scogli, ouero Isolette dishabitate, che le chiamano *Angediua,* che in lingua del paese vuol dir, cinque Isole, perche tante a punto sono. In una v'è acqua : tutte sono verde, e con qualch' albero."† The impression that 'anche' or 'Angediva' meant five islands appears to have been general among Europeans, since De Barros and other early Portuguese annalists wrongly explained the origin of the name; for Lafitau also gives the same derivation of the name.

Now the striking historical fact connected with the island is the landing at Angediva of the English troops that were sent down to India to take possession of Bombay, ceded to the King of Great Britain by the marriage contract dated the 23rd of July 1661. The delivery of the island was decreed by the royal letter dated the 9th of April 1662, for which purpose a fleet consisting of five ships, under the command of the Earl of Marlborough, was despatched to India, carrying about five hundred soldiers. Sir Abraham Shipman had the control of the troops, and was appointed the General of the island and its dependencies. They arrived off Bombay on the 18th of September 1662, and

* *A Voyage to the East Indies,* by Fra Paolino da San Bartolomeo. Translated into German by J. N. Foster, and from German into English by W. Johnston, Lond. 1800, pp. 144, 145.

† *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle il Pellegrino,* Venetia, 1667, vol. ii., p. 180.

on requesting that the island might be made over to them, the Portuguese Viceroy, proffering some plea and reasons—some of them worth attention,* but too tedious to enumerate here—refused to accede to the demand; whereupon they sailed to Surat and made an application to the English President, Sir George Oxenden, to obtain permission from the Mogul to effect a landing of the troops there, but even this was refused. Further misunderstandings led Lord Marlborough to return in January 1664 to England, but his five hundred men had no other resource left than that suggested by Sir Abraham Shipman, to land at the desolate island of Angediva, which then belonged to nobody. Here they remained about two years under the shelter of a few huts, and without sufficient protection from the deadly effects of the climate. The consequence was that Sir Abraham Shipman died on the 5th of April 1664, and three hundred of his men perished on the island during this short interval,—the marshy condition of the island, the absence of any accommodation to which a European is accustomed, and the scarcity of provisions, having thinned their numbers rapidly; and when by another of his royal letters, dated the 16th of August 1663, the cession of the island of Bombay was almost imperatively urged on the Viceroy, Castro de Mello, by the King of Portugal, a new treaty was drafted, to be signed by Humphry Cooke, who had become acquainted with the Viceroy in Lisbon, where he was carrying on the trade of a tanner, and had succeeded here to the command of the British troops. It was on the 10th of January 1665 that the new treaty was signed, and the formal cession was made on the 17th of the following month,† when Humphry Cooke took possession of Bombay with the wreck of his army, as the few English troops still surviving on Angediva were called, amounting to only two officers and a hundred and ninety-one rank and file. All the others were buried in the rocky island of Angediva, and, strange though it may appear, nobody has yet thought in this the nineteenth century, in which it is the fashion to commemorate even the most ordinary events in life and to raise statues to no less ordinary beings, of placing even a decent slab to the memory of those brave and self-denying pioneers of the British power in the East, who, having the misfortune to seek a refuge that was denied them elsewhere, were at last obliged to

* *Memorias de Teixeira Magalhaes*, Goa, 1858.

† See my articles entitled "Words and Places in and about Bombay" in the *Indian Antiquary*, Bomb. 1874, vol. iii.

make an unhealthy spot their retreat, and in the case of most of them their grave. But I must stop here, on the principle *Ne sutor ultra crepidam.*

On the English evacuating the island it was left without a possessor, and now the time was at hand for the Portuguese to make another attempt to appear on the scene and raise new fortifications. This was done in 1682, during the government of the Viceroy Conde d'Alvôr, when the Portuguese again fortified the island, and this time more effectually than ever, the corner-stone being laid on the 5th of May of that year. The fort is a pretty large quadrilateral bastioned one, consisting of a wall built of stone and mortar, and possessing embrasures, battlements, and all the other features and appliances of medieval fortifications. It has casemates under the ramparts, and some of the landward and southern bastions are built with orillons. It has also a balcony for the guard; a large store-room for gunpowder; a magazine for ammunition and victuals; a castellated governor's palace; a cuirass; a house for the door-keeper of the palace and of the cuirass; a major's house; two redoubts; five bastions, named Francisco, Antonio, Conceição, Diamante and Lumbreira; three batteries, named Ponta de dentro, Peça and Fontainhas, and several other small buildings amidst palm-groves and other trees, which it would be too tiresome to enumerate here. The entrance gate leads to a courtyard, and in the *enceinte* of the fortress is a fine tank of spring water.*

When completed it was one of the most pleasant seats fortified by the Portuguese government in India, who appointed Amaro Simoẽs its first Governor; but it is now in a very dilapidated condition, a few rusty old iron guns lie about in the interior of the fort, and the locality is one of the most unhealthy of the possessions still remaining to them. In fact, unwholesome air appears to have been its characteristic since the days when Varthema was there; what the causes are, nobody, it seems, has yet thought it worth while to investigate.

Its population, living within the fortress, amounts, according to the last census, to 527, inhabiting 147 houses. They are all Christians of the Roman Catholic faith, and belong to the only parish in the island, its church, dedicated to N. S. das Brotas, being situated within the

* This is perhaps the very tank that supplied water to the fleet of Vasco da Gama, and is mentioned by Ibn Batûta in his *Travels.*

precincts of the fortress.* This mere handful of islanders are mostly descendants of the old Portuguese soldiers who once formed the garrison of the fortress and of convicts; for Angediva was, as late as the last century, a penal settlement, whither felons from Goa, Damaun and Diu were transported. Some of these men are engaged in the cultivation of rice and cocoanuts, and in fishery, all living in the eastern part of the island; the western is but a rock for fishermen to dry their nets on. The women spin cotton thread and yarn, and weave stockings, which are said to be the best made on this side of India. There is nothing remarkable about the physical and moral condition of these islanders,—at least nothing more than what we see among the native Christians of Bassein, Bandora and Mahim. The island is now under the jurisdiction of the province of Salcete, one of the three old divisions of the territory of Goa.

* It appears that this church was built on the very spot where the Hindu temple mentioned by Ibn Batûta once existed. It has been the invariable custom of the Portuguese to appropriate the ground and building materials that once belonged to the Hindus and Mahomedans.

ART. VIII.—*The Labours of the Arab Astronomers, and their Instruments, with the Description of an Astrolabe in the Mulla Firuz Library.* BY E. REHATSEK, M.C.E., Hon. Mem. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.

Read September 13th, 1875.

As the ancients have laid the foundations of all the practical and theoretical sciences we now possess, and we have during the lapse of thousands of years become heirs to all the accumulated knowledge which has escaped the ravages of time, and has been preserved to be improved and augmented by future ages, it behoves us to speak of the attainments of the ancients, whether perfect or imperfect, with humility and veneration.

The mild climate and the clear sky of the East naturally point to it as the cradle of Astronomy, but it would be wrong to assert, as has been done by some authors, that it originated first of all among the Chaldæans. Their most ancient observations which it is possible to admit are those of three eclipses said to have taken place in the years 719 and 720 before Christ, of which Ptolemy made use, probably after Hipparchus, who had intelligently and methodically collected these observations anterior to the astronomy of the Greeks.* The Egyptians, like the Chaldæans, attribute a fabulous age to their astronomy and to their civilization. Although the statements of the former are as incredible as those of the latter, there is no doubt that the chief points of the astronomy of both these nations consisted in observations of the sun, in fixing the length of the year, noticing the phases of the moon, and naming the stars, so that their risings and settings, with their movements in the sky, could be recorded. The Egyptian zodiacs which have come down to our times bear witness to the care with which the astronomers of that nation had observed the position of the solstices on the signs of the zodiac. The Chinese do not boast, as the Chaldæans

* A. S. de Montferrier, *Dictionnaire des Sciences Mathématiques*, 2de ed., tome I., p. 162.

did, of possessing astronomical observations dating as far back as nearly half a million of years ;* and even the conjunctions of five planets and of the solar eclipse observed in China during the years 2514 and 2436 before our era, and examined by the European astronomers of the last century, were found to be so untractable by the laws of calculation that they gave rise to polemics and guesses as vague as those of the Chinese themselves. It is, however, at present known that in 1109 before Christ gnomons eight feet high existed in China ;† so that the honour of having invented the gnomon belongs no more to the Greeks.‡

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* Montferrier, *Dict.*, tome I., p. 162.

† *Supplément au Traité des Instruments Astronomiques des Arabes*, par M. L. Am. Sédillot, p. 7.

‡ Anaximander, the successor of Thales in the direction of the Ionian school, and born about 620 years before Christ, was usually considered as the inventor of the gnomon; and Diogenes Laertius, lib. ii., cap. i., 3, says of him:—"Primus autem gnomonem invenit, ipsumque Lacedemone in solariis statuit, quo ut ait Phavorinus in omnimoda historia, conversiones Solis, et æquinoctia notaret."

The large columnar pillar at Stonehenge, sixteen feet high, has recently been found to be a gnomon, marking noon by throwing no shadow. See *The Times of India*, July 31, 1875:—

"About twelve months ago a correspondent of a home paper drew attention to some remarkable phenomena observable at Stonehenge, in connection with the sun's rising on midsummer's morning, and suggested that the inference therefrom was that these megalithic circles, certainly this one in particular, had been erected for the purposes of Baal-worship. The facts mentioned interested several scientific and literary men, and it was felt that a complete and scientific examination of the structure was desirable in order to set at rest the various surmises of archæologists and others. Accordingly last week a party of civil engineers proceeded to the spot, and were engaged for four or five days in taking most elaborate measurements of the structures, as well as making astronomical calculations. The results of their exhaustive survey, we are informed, have been very striking, astonishing none more than the savants themselves, and leave not the least doubt about the solar references of the structure, and further, that it was undoubtedly erected as a temple of the sun, thereby verifying the inference to that effect which appeared at the time referred to. By an arrangement of the stones, the time of rising and setting of the sun at the winter and summer solstices can be ascertained, and the large columnar stone or gnomon, which stands isolated some distance beyond the main avenue, marks the time of noon by the fact of its reflecting no shadow then. This was tested by one of the party, who altered his watch time by it, and checking it by Greenwich time on returning to Salisbury found it to correspond exactly. The position of this gnomon, some sixteen feet high, indicates in more ways than one that it was intended to serve astronomical purposes. The interesting results of this, perhaps the most important, if not only scientific survey, in the true sense of the term, that has been made of these historic ruins, will, we are informed, be embodied in book form, and as a contribution towards the elucidation of a question which remains unsettled, it will doubtless prove to antiquaries and archæologists a valuable addition to that 'literary cairn' which this subject has already provoked."

It cannot be denied that when the Greeks were yet in a state of almost complete barbarism the Chaldæans and Egyptians* had made considerable progress in astronomy, and it is certain that the Greek astronomers of the school of Alexandria (one of whose brightest ornaments, born two centuries before Christ, was Hipparchus) had recourse to Chaldæan observations; whilst before their time Thales in the 7th, Plato in the 5th, Eudoxus in the 5th, and Pythagoras in the 2nd century before Christ, went from Greece to the Egyptian priests to seek instruction. Hence it is clear that the Greeks were not the inventors of astronomy; and although we have mentioned only the Chaldæans and Egyptians as their teachers, there is the greatest probability that the Chinese, the Hindus and Persians, likewise furnished their quota of astronomical information, but that, on account of the immense distance and the want of close intercourse with these nations, the Greeks became acquainted with their discoveries only at second hand.

Although the influence of the East upon the West must be admitted, some discoveries may have been made again and again in both. After all, however, the first positive data on the science of astronomy must be sought among the Greeks. The principal instruments used by the Greeks were the sphere, the gnomon, the heliometer, the heliotrope, together with various kinds of quadrants, clepsydras, and sand-clocks; of these it will be necessary to say something before mentioning the instruments of the Arabs, who made good use of them, added new ones, and achieved brilliant successes in the science whilst Europe was yet plunged in the darkness of the so-called Middle Ages.

There is a natural law in the development of sciences according to which they gradually proceed from the simplest requirements prompted by the necessities of the human race, to more complicated ones, and to

* The ingenious method by which the ancient Egyptians measured the diameter of the sun by means of water-clocks is worth mentioning:—At the moment when the disk of the rising sun touched the horizon on the day of the equinox, water was allowed to escape drop by drop from the bottom of a vessel always kept full by means of another vessel placed above it, and which was likewise kept full. The water escaped from the first appearance of the sun's limb on the horizon until the full orb had emerged. In a second, much larger basin the water was preserved which fell, until the next morning's first appearance of the sun's upper limb. Then the water contained in each basin was carefully measured and weighed, and the following proportion was established:—The whole water which has flowed out is to that contained in the small basin as the 360 degrees of the celestial sphere are to the diameter of the sun which is sought. (*Supplément*, &c., pp. 16, 17.)

discoveries having no palpable influence on the wants of daily life. Thus, for instance, it must have been one of the earliest problems of astronomy to determine the length of the year, as a knowledge of time is so important an item in all human transactions. To find the duration of the year, it was sufficient to observe the lengths of the shadows thrown by gnomons at the time of the solstices, and from these the equinoxes were approximately deduced, which were corrected by means of the equatorial circle. No necessity for trigonometry had yet arisen, as the length of the year, of the seasons, and the inequality of the days could be ascertained without it, from daily observing the sun's altitude on the meridian by measuring the length; and the various hours of the day could be known by observing the direction of the gnomon's shadow.

The gnomon, which is the simplest and oldest of all instruments, gives the height more accurately in proportion to its own. Therefore extremely tall gnomons were sometimes used, and, although the vague termination of their shadows was inconvenient, it took some centuries to make the discovery that the passage of the solar rays through a small circular aperture would more accurately define the end of the shadow; and the observations demonstrating the progressive diminution of the obliquity of the ecliptic were thus taken long after the obliquity itself had been determined.* The gnomon and the sphere had been in use at a very early time in Greece, but it is uncertain whether Thales employed other instruments, and nothing positive is known either about the form, size, or use of the heliotrope and the heliometer. A little more is known about the dials of the ancients; that of Eudoxus, five centuries before Christ, is explained by Vitruvius, but the Romans themselves erected the first of them only three centuries later, *i.e.* in 233 before Christ; the sand and water clocks are also of an ancient date, but the latter are not to be confounded with the clepsydras used in Rome and Athens during the fourth century.

If we now take up the astronomical instruments of which Ptolemy has left us a description in his *Almagest*,† they are as follows:—The first is the solstitial armilla, which serves to show how much the ecliptic is inclined to the equator; perhaps Aristillus and Timocharis were acquaint-

* The most celebrated of these observations were by Cassini in 1656 at Bologna, and by Monnier in 1743 at Paris.

† *Supplément*, pp. 17 *et seq.*

ed with the use of this armilla, but the same cannot be said of Eratosthenes, who at any rate placed equatorial armillas at Alexandria. Proclus has given a long commentary on the armilla of Ptolemy, and in it an indication occurs of an instrument which was afterwards by the Arabs called *Dáirah Hindiah*, or the Indian circle. Ptolemy also made use of the quadrant of a circle traced on a plank to determine the inclination of the ecliptic, which likewise again occurs among the Arabs by the name of *Allebnah, i.e.* the brick. Ptolemy says also a few words on the equinoctial armillas, when speaking of the observations made at Alexandria with the copper circle placed in the square portico, which instrument, apparently known also to Hipparchus, was very accurate.

There is reason to believe that Ptolemy did not himself invent several instruments the first idea of which is generally attributed to him. The astrolabe which bears his name belongs, no doubt, to Hipparchus, and is not to be confounded with the planisphere astrolabes so perfectly constructed by the Arabs by applying the rules given in Ptolemy's treatise on the planisphere; it is more justly named *instrumentum armillarum*, as George of Trebizond calls it. As to the solid sphere of Ptolemy, and his *triquetum* or parallactic rules, it will suffice to say in this place that the construction of the first mentioned of these instruments was known long before Ptolemy's time, and that the second has justly been criticized by the Arabs, and by all who have attentively examined it. This is all that the Greek authors have transmitted to us concerning the astronomical instruments used in their times.

We shall not say anything about the astronomy of the ancient Arabs, their practical acquaintance with this science having been scarcely more extensive than that possessed by the Greeks before the time of Thales, and they began to make it an object of serious study only during the period of the Abbasside Khalifs. The celebrated Al Mançúr, surnamed Abu Ja'fer, was concerned most in the intellectual revolution which then commenced to manifest itself among the Arabs. He ascended the throne about the middle of the 8th century (A.H. 136, A.D. 754), encouraged the sciences by his liberality, by the favours wherewith he honoured those who cultivated them, but above all by his own example, because he devoted himself with much ardour to the study of astronomy. His successors followed in his footsteps; the celebrated Harún Al-Rashid and his son Muḥammad Al-Amin favoured with all

their might the movement of civilization which had manifested itself among the Arabs. But among all the Arab princes who became celebrated by their love for the sciences, the Khalif Al-Mámún-A'bd-Allah, second son of Harún, who ascended the throne A.H. 198 (A.D. 813-14), is deserving of special mention. He protected the sciences as a sovereign and a philosopher; for, magnanimous like Alexander, he never forgot, even in his warlike expeditions, the noble purpose he had in view. He imposed on Michael III. a tribute of books, constituting the treasures of the ancient civilization of Greece, and afterwards waged war against Theophilus, who had refused to allow Leo the archbishop of Thessalonica to depart to Baghdád, and whom this Christian emperor allowed to live on the price of the lessons which he was obliged to give to slaves. Beginning with the reign of Al-Mámún, all the sciences, but particularly astronomy, took a prodigious start among the Arabs, and crowds of men remarkable for their works and for their scientific attainments surrounded his throne. The *Almagest*, as well as all the mathematical works of Greece and of the school of Alexandria, was translated. The astronomers of Baghdád made a great many important observations, and drew up new tables of the sun and of the moon, more exact than those of Ptolemy, to which the name of "verified tables" was given. They determined, with more precision than Hipparchus had done, the duration of the tropical year, and measured in a plain of Mesopotamia a degree of the meridian, with the object of calculating the exact size of the earth.

It would be necessary to cite many astronomers who distinguished themselves during the reign of Al-Mámún and his successors to illustrate the progress of astronomical science made in those times; biographies of these astronomers occur in various works, but their insertion would be out of place here. One, however, may be given as a specimen, namely, that of Muḥammad Ben Jáber, who having been born in Mesopotamia in a place called Baṭan is on that account known in Europe by the latinized name Albatenius, and whose labours are among the most important. The precise epoch of this great man's birth is not known, but it is certain that he flourished about fifty years after the death of the Khalif Al-Mámún, that is to say, towards A.D. 880. He was not a Moslem, but a Sabæan and a worshipper of stars; in those times religious toleration was so great and science so highly esteemed at the court of Baghdád, that physicians, mathematicians, and scientific

men in general who were Christians, Jews, Sabæans, or Hindu polytheists, enjoyed respect and occupied honourable positions. Like the majority of Arab mathematicians, Albatenius applied mathematics chiefly to astronomy, the study of which he embraced with the double motive of religious sentiment and as a high branch of knowledge. In spite of his religion, which was horrible to Moslems, he enjoyed the dignity of governor of Syria under the Khalifs. All his observations were made either at Antioch or in the town of Rukkah in Mesopotamia, for which reason some old authors called him *Mahometus Aractensis*.

The following is a general sketch of the labours of Albatenius, which, considering the epoch when they were undertaken, are very remarkable.

This illustrious astronomer adopted nearly the system and the hypotheses of Ptolemy, but rectified them in some points, and made also several discoveries, which have procured him a distinguished place among the men whose labours have enriched astronomical science.

As far as the movement of the fixed stars is concerned, Albatenius approached the truth much more than the ancients. Ptolemy caused them to move only one degree in a century, but the Arab astronomer made them pass through the same space in 70, whilst modern astronomers allow 72 years. Albatenius measured the magnitude of the eccentricity of the solar orbit,* and the appreciation could not be more just. The determination of the length of the solar year, in which Albatenius was engaged, does not appear to have been so successful. On comparing his own observations with those of Ptolemy, he made the year to consist of 365d. 5h. 46m. 24s., which conclusion is erroneous by 2¼m. But one of the most beautiful discoveries connected with the name and labours of Albatenius is the one relating to the determination of the motion of the sun's apogee. Before the time of this astronomer the sun's apogee had been considered as fixed to the same point of the zodiac, immoveable and imaginary, and to be beyond the stars. Such it seemed to Ptolemy himself; but Albatenius, aided

* By the eccentricity of the solar orbit, in reality that of the earth is now meant; and this eccentricity of the apparent orbit of the sun was determined by observing the difference between the apparent diameters of the sun. The diameter of the sun necessarily appeared smaller in proportion as the distance from the earth was larger; hence it sufficed to know the sun's largest and smallest apparent diameter in order to obtain the ratio between the largest and the smallest distance.

by observations more distant from each other, disentangled this movement, and distinguished it from that of the fixed stars. He showed that it was somewhat more rapid, as the most recent observations seem to confirm. Albatenius took notice of the defects of Ptolemy's theory of the moon and the other planets, and if he did not entirely correct it, he at least rectified his hypothesis in many details. His discovery of the motion of the sun's apogee led him to suppose that it was applicable to the movement of the other planets; and also in this respect his conjectures have been verified. Lastly, Albatenius constructed new astronomical tables and substituted them for those of Ptolemy, which were beginning to become sensibly incorrect. These tables, much more perfect than the first ones, attained great celebrity in the East, and were used for a long time.

The work containing the discoveries of Albatenius, and called by him *Zij Súbi*, was translated into Latin under the title of *De scientia stellarum;* but a biographer justly observes that the translator knew neither Arabic nor Latin. This translation is actually full of grave errors, and can give but an imperfect idea of the labours of Albatenius, which were so remarkable. The first edition appeared in Nuremberg in 1537, in folio. The second, which was likewise inaccurate, was published in 1645, in quarto, at Bologna. The original is believed to be in the library of the Vatican. Albatenius, whom Lalande ranked among the forty-two most celebrated astronomers, died A.H. 137, A.D. 929.*

The writings of Arab astronomers were but imperfectly known till the beginning of the present century. The introduction to the tables of Muḥammad Ben Jáber Albatani, whom his translator had surnamed Albatenius, having been carefully commented upon by Regiomontanus, appeared to show that the Arabs were scrupulous imitators of the Greeks, had retained their general theories, had only somewhat perfected their instruments, better determined the obliquity of the ecliptic, the eccentricity of the sun, its mean movement, and the precession of the equinoxes; that they had used sines instead of chords in their astronomical calculations, but that they had not gone further; and that in order to point out new progress it is necessary to have recourse to the European astronomers of the 16th century.

* Montferrier, *Dict.*, tome I., p. 38.

The translation of some chapters from Ebn Yunis by Caussin in 1804 made known certain observations of eclipses and conjunctions of the planets useful in determining mean movements; but the doctrine, the methods,—in a word, the science of history,—remained in obscurity. Laplace had asserted that the activity of the Arab astronomers was limited to observations, and that they had added nothing to the hypotheses of Ptolemy; whilst Delambre stated that their chief merit lay in having lived seven or eight centuries later,—that they had better determined what the Greeks had commenced, but that they did not seem to have even perceived the necessity of changing anything in their theories.

These were the only notions current when J. J. Sédillot,* supposing the labours of the Arabs to have been more perfect and more extensive, devoted himself to serious researches on this subject, and commenced a series of discoveries which Delambre mentions with great praise in his history of astronomy during the Middle Ages, published in 1819. Sédillot senior began his further researches by completing his translation of the manuscript of Ebn Yunis taken from the library of Leyden, and containing 22 chapters; he discovered 28 new chapters of this astronomer in a work of Ebn Sháthir, and brought to light advancements of which we had no idea, such as a number of processes and rules bringing Arabic into contact with European modern trigonometry, the use of tangents and of secants as subsidiary means in certain more complicated cases, and artifices of calculation afterwards invented by Europeans only as late as the beginning of the 18th century.

But this was not all; an *Almagest* of Ab-al-Wofa, who flourished during the 10th century in Baghdád and was a contemporary of Ebn Yunis, existed unnoticed in several libraries, and was found to contain the formulas of tangents and secants, as well as tables of tangents and cotangents for the whole quarter of the circle. These tables Ab-al-Wofa used in the same manner as they are at present employed in trigonometrical calculations; he changed the formulas of triangles, and did away with the unhandy compound expressions containing at the same

* Introduction of L. Am. Sédillot to his father's *Traité des Instruments Astronomiques des Arabes, par Aboul Hhassan Ali de Maroc, intitulé* جامع المبادي والغايات" pp. 2 *et seq.*

time the sine and the cosine of the unknown quantity; thus he completed a revolution initiated by an unknown author, but ascribed without foundation to Regiomontanus, who had never gone further than, nor even as far as, Ebn Yunis; Europe profited by it six centuries after the first invention by the Arabs, whose works were unfortunately not sufficiently known.

Encouraged by this success, Sédillot extended his researches to the Persian and Tartar astronomers. He informs us that the catalogue of Ulugh Bég is really original, like that of Hipparchus, and that the positions of all its stars had actually been determined by new observations; that all the other catalogues were but copies of Ptolemy, who had copied Menelaus, and that the latter had taken everything from Hipparchus. Albatenius, as well as Náçer-al-din, had, in order to determine the precession of the equinoxes, like Menelaus, contented himself with observing two or three stars, and had taken the others from Ptolemy by applying a common correction which resulted from a small number of comparisons. Sédillot also states that the astronomer A'bd-al-raḥmán Çufi occupied himself only with taking sights and magnitudes of stars, so that his catalogue, which had been considered really original, is only that of Ptolemy with the addition of a constant quantity known to us; this remark is curious enough, inasmuch as in consequence of it an authentic catalogue of Ptolemy can be obtained, and therefore also of that of Hipparchus, whereby a considerable number of errors (which crept in as no means were at hand for restoring the original readings) may be rectified.

The above-mentioned information had hitherto been buried in libraries, and its having been brought to light has filled out a great and important lacuna in the mathematical sciences; it has been embodied in Delambre's history of the astronomy of the Middle Ages, of which it forms a really new and original portion. But the labours of Sédillot did not end here; Montucla had not hesitated to state that the gnomonics of the Arabs were lost, like those of the Greeks; whereas those of the Greeks existed in their totality in the *Analemma* of Ptolemy, with the first idea of sines and of versines. The works of Albatenius proved that up to the ninth century of our era the Arabs had not made any addition to the theory of Ptolemy. In his translation of Ab-al-Ḥasan A'li's treatise on astronomical instruments, Sédillot has produced a complete and very detailed work on the gnomonics of the Arabs; the con-

tents and the doctrine being still the same, but with curious and important additions. Although Vitruvius had written on some processes known in his time, his descriptions were so equivocal that they admitted only of conjectures. The more exact descriptions of Ab-al-Hasan, who lived in the 13th century, remove all doubts, and his work moreover contains a number of inventions evidently due to the Arabs.

But the Arabs distinguished themselves in the sciences especially in Spain. In Cordova, Seville, Grenada, and other large towns of that country, flourishing schools and colleges were maintained. More than six thousand volumes could be seen in Cordova at the University library, and seventy such libraries existed in Spain.

It is true that as far as philosophy is concerned the Arabs studied Aristotle much more than nature; their astronomical works were often infected with astrology; but their errors contributed to preserve precious indications, and in their new researches they met sometimes with the truth. The invention of algebra, the solution of equations of the second degree, and the geometrical solution of the third is attributed to them. The science as taught by Muhammad Ben Musa does not extend beyond quadratic equations, including problems with an adfected square. These he solves by the same rules which are followed by Diophantus, and taught, but less comprehensibly, by Hindu mathematicians.* That he borrowed from Diophantus is not at all probable; for it does not appear that the Arabs had any knowledge of Diophantus's work before the middle of the fourth century after the Hejirah, when Ab-al-Wofa Buzjani rendered it into Arabic. It is far more probable that the Arabs received their first knowledge of algebra from the Hindus, who furnished them with the decimal notation of numerals and with various important points of mathematical and astronomical information.†

The period of time designated by the term the Middle Ages, which was to us an epoch of darkness and servitude, embraces the most brilliant period of the history of the Arabs. When our knights, who were as brave as they were ignorant, followed to the East myriads of pilgrims impelled by religious enthusiasm, they imagined that they were going

* *Lilávatí*, p. 29, *Vijaganita*, p. 347, Colebrooke's translations.

† *Algebra of Muhammad Ben Musa*, edited and translated by Fred. Rosen, p. x.

to attack barbarians scarcely worthy to fall under their noble swords, but they had to deal with a nation as brave as it was enlightened, and Arab civilization triumphed over this formidable attack; the Christians, however, brought back from the East ideas which germinated in Europe, and afterwards contributed to produce the intellectual revival. Such was the positive result of the Crusades. It is no doubt great, and bears eloquent testimony to the providential direction which society underwent.*

The beneficent influence of the Arabs on the progress of civilization in Europe cannot be denied. Their schools were frequented and their commercial relations led them into all the ports of the Mediterranean, where they spread the germs of useful knowledge. Their works, or those which they had themselves borrowed from the Greeks and Romans, were translated, and it is thus that so many Arab words crept into the astronomic nomenclature of scholars during the 15th century.

The school of Bághdad has far surpassed that of Alexandria with reference to the methods of calculation. The substitution of sines for chords, and the introduction of tangents into trigonometrical calculations, naturally imparted more comprehensiveness and simplicity to the expression of relations and their combinations. The determination of the variation by Ab-al-Wofa, an entirely new fact in the history of science, had at the same time awakened greater interest concerning manuscripts of the Arabs, and opened a vast field of conjectures and investigations to friends of literature; but it is surprising that so little attention had hitherto been paid to the instruments used by the Arabs, who were always considered to have employed such as had been invented by the Greeks.

The Arabs possessed not only astrolabes of various kinds, sextants, and a number of other instruments, but had also attained great perfection in the mechanical arts. The Khalif Harún-Al-Rashid had sent a clock to Charlemagne, and of these they possessed three kinds; namely, water-clocks, sand-clocks, and such as were put in motion by wheelworks. Silvestre de Sacy has described the great clock of Damascus with many details;† and the celestial globes made of various metals likewise bear testimony to the skill of the Arab instrument-makers.

* Montferrier, *Dictionnaire des Sciences Mathématiques*, tome I., p. 170.

† Silvestre de Sacy, *Relation de l'Egypte par Abdallatif*, p. 578.

What the attainments of the ancient Persians may have been in science, and in astronomy in particular, can now no longer be determined, as their literature has been lost; and the only work of it, known by the name of the *Fables of Bidpai*, of no earlier date than the time of Nushirvan, is not an original composition, but has been identified with the *Hitopadeśa*, and has come down to us in an Arabic translation only.*

After emancipating themselves from the yoke of the Khalifs, the Persians distinguished themselves in the eleventh century, when one of their most celebrated astronomers reformed the calendar, and adopted an intercalation, which Dominique Cassini proposed, in the 17th century, as the most accurate Gregorian intercalation. In the 13th century Holagu-Ilekukhán most laudably encouraged astronomy in Persia, and Ulugh Bég, one of his successors, must himself be ranked among the best observers. He measured in 1477 the obliquity of the ecliptic, and drew up astronomical tables surpassed in accuracy and perfection only by those of Tycho de Brahe.†

Among Arab writers on astronomy, only few have made it a speciality to write on instruments, but the most important of these have been made known in two very valuable books translated from the Arabic, the first of them being a complete treatise on Arab gnomonics, and the second, which is a supplement to it, containing accurate descriptions of a number of instruments. The first work was translated by J. J. Sédillot, and the second by his son L. Am. Sédillot, both of which I found extremely valuable in the compilation of this paper, although as far as the instruments described in them are concerned there was no need of having recourse to them, inasmuch as I do not pretend to enter into great details concerning instruments, but shall content myself with the description of a few only, as enounced in the heading of this paper.

In my Catalogue of the Mulla Firuz Library,‡ where I had occasion to register 93 MS. volumes under the section of Astronomy, Chronology, and Mathematics, I found the second part of No. 20 to consist of an Arabic MS. called the "Nazhat al-ḥaḳáiḳ," whose author was Jamshid

* *Calila et Dimna, ou Fables de Bidpai en Arabe;* ed. Silvestre de Sacy.

† Montferrier, *Dictionnaire des Sciences Mathématiques*, 2de ed, tome I, p. 170.

‡ *Catalogue Raisonné of the Arabic, Hindostani, Persian, and Turkish MSS. in the Mulla Firuz Library.* By E. Rehatsek. Published by the Managing Committee, 1873.

B. Masud B. Mahmud Al-Ṭabib Al-Káshy, surnamed Ghayáṣ. He describes an instrument which he had himself invented, and says: "I succeeded in preparing a metal disk, by means of which the approach and latitude of the seven planets, as well as their motion away from the earth, together with solar and lunar eclipses, can be observed," &c. He calls this instrument the Ṭabaḳ al-manáṭeḳ, or ecliptic plate, and states that its use is the same as that of the Louḥ alittisálát, or tablet of conjunctions, invented by learned men long ago. No. 59 contains not less than five different treatises on various astronomical instruments, most of which, however, have already been described, such as the armilla, the astrolabe, and a few others, not omitting even the gnomon. In No. 72 the second part of the MS. has for its author Ebn Káshef Al-dyn Muḥammad Káẓy, who describes various instruments, and among them also one called the Muḳálid-al-samuvát-val-árẓ, *i.e.* the keys of heaven and earth. The last MS. to be noticed is No. 21, which contains a number of instruments, but has on nearer examination not answered my expectations, although I have copied the whole of it in hopes that a close study of the text would enable me to obtain clear ideas on the numerous figures it contains, all of which represent astronomical instruments. Of some parts of instruments horizontal and other views are given, but, as I could not satisfactorily make out how they might fit each other, I shall be compelled to curtail my descriptions and restrict them only to a few instruments:—

The vernier and micrometric screw being probably unknown to the Arabs, they were, in order to obtain very accurate results, sometimes compelled to use instruments having a very large radius, as for instance Abu Raihán Al-Beiruni, who employed a quadrant of fifteen cubits. Nevertheless, heavy and clumsy as these ancient quadrants were, they served as models for our beautiful and accurate ones, some of which are almost small enough to be carried in the pocket. The construction of the quadrant is given in M.S. No. 21, as follows:—Take a piece of box, or poplar, or other wood to form two rules and the quadrant, the former intersecting each other at right angles at the centre of the quadrant, whose two extremities are connected with them. The length of each of these rulers or bars is not more than five cubits, and the thickness must be one quarter of a cubit, to prevent warping. When these three parts are firmly joined together in one plane by cutting off some wood from the thickness of the bars and of the quadrant, the latter is to be

excavated circularly so as to present a channel of about one digit broad and half a digit in depth, into which an arc made of brass or iron is firmly inserted, so as to form but one surface therewith. After drawing a right angle on the two bars, one point of a pair of compasses is to be fixed in it as a centre, and with the other four concentric arcs are to be described on the brass or iron quadrant. Then the innermost arc is to be divided into ninety degrees from 5 to 5, the next one into single degrees, and the third into parts of degrees or minutes. This quadrant is to be fixed in a wall (representing the direction of the meridian) so as to make but one surface therewith, the perpendicular bar coinciding with the southern angle of the wall according to the plumb-line; then the other bar will be horizontal. To this quadrant a dioptra moveable around the centre is fixed by a pin which passes not only through the centre of the quadrant, but also through the wall. The dioptra is a bar or ruler prepared by drawing through its middle a line which must on the one side pass through the centre of the quadrant, and on the other point out the degrees. Two pinules, *i.e.* rectangular pieces of brass, are so fixed on the dioptra that one of them will be not far from the centre, and the other from the limb of the quadrant. These pinules both stand perpendicularly on the dioptra, and observations of the sun or star passing across the meridian are taken by looking through the small eye-holes in the two pinules. Lastly, the holes must be so placed that a perpendicular line drawn from any of them on the dioptra must strike the above-mentioned line which passes on the dioptra from the centre of the quadrant to its limb. This instrument is adapted only for altitudes from the zenith down to the point where the meridian touches the horizon to the south, but it may easily be arranged so that it can be turned and serve for the northern side if necessary.

An old instrument for observing the obliquity of the ecliptic, and for other purposes, consisted of a circle from which not only degrees and minutes, but also seconds and even terces, could be read off. The instrument consisted of a circle, not less than six cubits in diameter, which was immoveable, but within it and in the plane of the same meridian there was another which moved in a northerly and southerly direction, and a dioptra with which sights could be taken of the sun or stars. There is much probability that an instrument of this kind must have suggested the vernier of modern times, but I do not know whether any Arab astronomer was ever struck by the idea that a circle or part of a

circle moving around another, but not having exactly the same divisions, might be made to serve to determine accurately minor divisions, and thus perform the function of what we now call the vernier.

For the purpose of measuring in digits the extent of a solar or lunar eclipse, a dioptra was used with an immoveable ocular pinule, which had a very small hole. This dioptra was divided into 212 parts, and their subdivisions called the digits of the sun or moon; within a groove in this dioptra there was another ruler having also a pinule, but being capable of motion forwards or backwards until the observer could perceive the full image of the moon or sun through the hole, which was larger than that on the immoveable ocular pinule. Two disks were used for ascertaining the magnitude of the eclipse,—the larger disk for a lunar, and the smaller for a solar eclipse,—by moving the disk between the ocular and objective pinule, arranged as just stated, in such a manner as exactly to cover the eclipsed part, when the extent could be ascertained by taking notice of the division of the ruler over which the disk stands when it covers the eclipsed part.

There was also an instrument called "the two quadrants," Al-Ruba'yn, by means of which two observations could be taken simultaneously. On a horizontal circle divided into degrees two quadrants were so arranged perpendicularly as to form a semicircle if required, and to turn on the axis of the horizontal circle (which rose to some height and served also as their axis) as doors turn on their hinges, these two quadrants forming any required angle with each other. Both these quadrants were provided with separate dioptras.

There was a contrivance for measuring angles without using an instrument divided into degrees. It consisted of two quadrangular pillars of masonry (see Fig. 1) whose tops were perfectly horizontal, each being covered with an iron plate containing a bed for a horizontal spindle, from which a beam with two pinules, *p, p*, for taking sights, was suspended perpendicularly, and capable of being elevated and turned by means of the pulley P. There was another, horizontal beam fixed to an axle A, and capable of being lifted by a string on the pulley K. This was called the chord-beam, because it had a scale of chords marked on it according to the perpendicular line A B, which was considered the radius, and constituted with the two just-described beams a triangle, *e.g.* A,B,C, when an altitude was observed; and it was only necessary

Fig. 1.

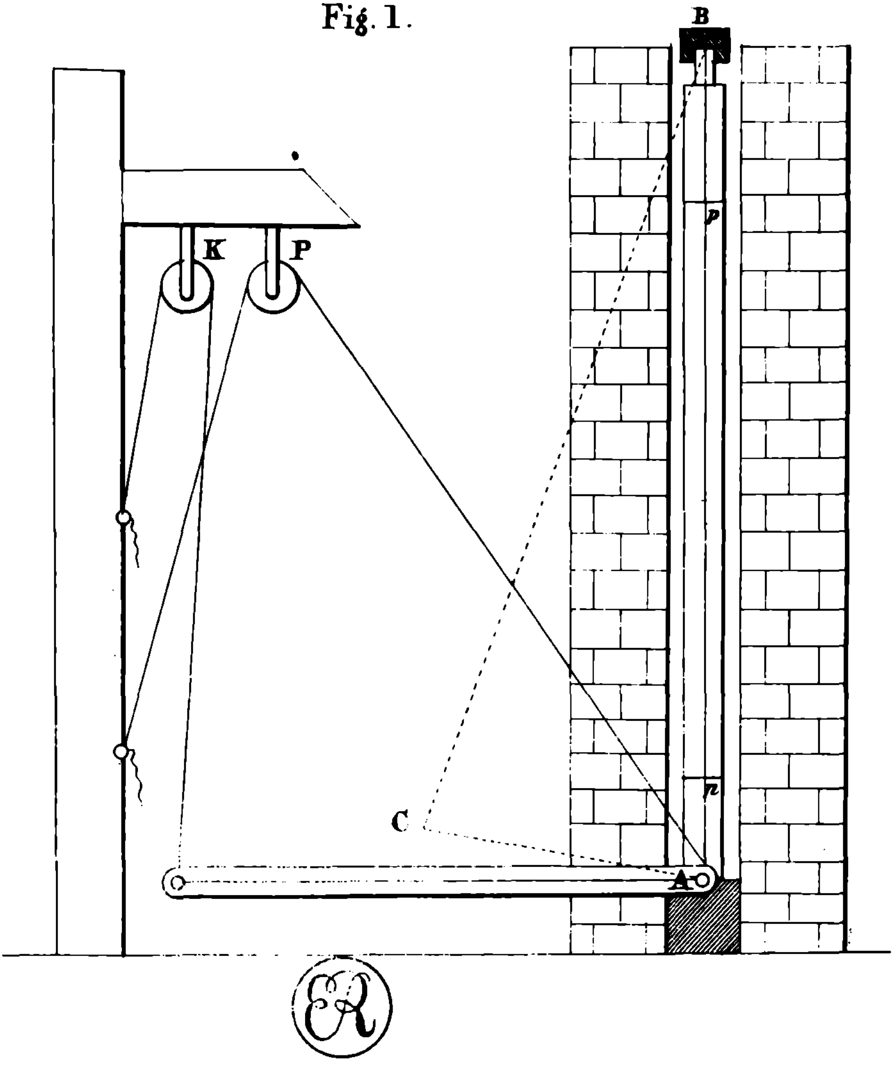
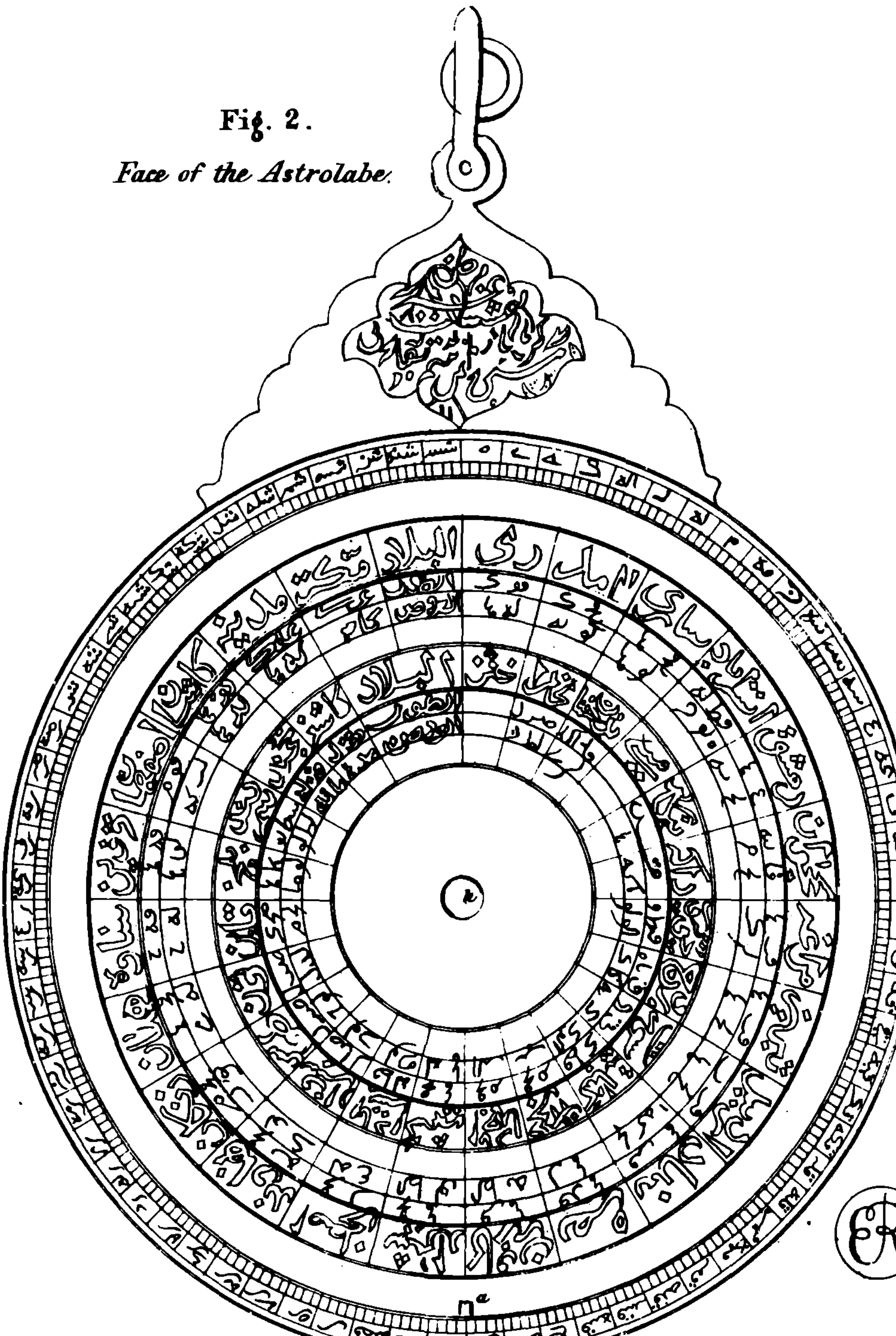


Fig. 2.

Face of the Astrolabe.



to read off the number from the scale of chords to ascertain the degree of elevation.

In the MS. No. 21, Section I. of the Mulla Firuz Library, where the above instrument is described, there are also many other drawings representing more complicated ones, supported by stands or masonry, with several dioptras for taking sights, and pulleys with ropes, and pillars of brickwork. There are also instruments with hollow tubes named *Anbúbah*, and apparently foreshadowing our telescopes, but without any lenses in them. I would have been very glad to give descriptions of more instruments, but as some are merely varieties of the one just described, it would have been superfluous to enter into details concerning them, and the above shows the principle and use of nearly all; moreover, as already stated, some instruments eluded all my endeavours to get at a clear idea of their composition.

The astrolabe was generally a small portable instrument made of brass, and various kinds have been described in translations from Arabic and Persian works. In this place I shall confine myself to the astrolabe preserved in the Mulla Firuz Library in Bombay. In the figures I drew I kept the natural size, and abstained from giving drawings of the five Çafiḥat, صفيحه *i.e.* plates containing the Almukanṭarats, المقنطرات from the horizon of the place of observation up to the zenith, and also a few other circles; and limited myself to the outer shell, to the A'nkabat, عنكبوت or spider, and to the dioptra, as the Çafiḥat have been accurately drawn and described by L. Am. Sédillot in his *Supplément au Traité des Instruments Astronomiques des Arabes*, and are analogous to those belonging to the astrolabe in the Mulla Firuz Library.

The front part of the outer shell, called the "face of the astrolabe," وجه الا سطرلاب has a circle divided into 360 degrees on its limb, marked in the Abujad notation; then comes the cavity which is called the "mother of the astrolabe," ام الا سطرلا ب probably because all the plates, not excepting "the spider," which is the sixth and uppermost of them, find room in it, as the embryo in the womb. This cavity (see Fig. 2, Face of the astrolabe) presents several concentric circles inscribed with the longitude and latitude of the following places. The larger circle gives those of Mekkah, Medinah, Káshán, Eçfahán, Ḳazvin, Sawah, Hamdán, Zenkán, Neháveud, Eçtakhar, Shiráz, Kazerún, Boçrah, Baghdád, Ardebil, Tabriz, Meraghah, Nahjován, Damascus, Asterabád, Sáry, Amed, and Rey. The smaller circle contains the longitude and

latitude of Káshghar, Khojend, Samarkand, Balkh, Kayz, Túz, Tús Shirvan, Asterabad, Kashmir, Aḥmedabád, Gujerát, Kambayit [Cambay], Súrat, Broach, Junpúr, Dakah, Bengalah, Badakhshán, and Bokhárá.

The longitudes and latitudes are all given in the Abujad notation; the first name being Mekkah, and having for its longitude عزي meaning 77° 10′, and its latitude كام i.e. 21° 40′. At the bottom of the astrolabe is a small cubical protuberance, *a*, serving to keep all the Çafiḥat provided with a corresponding cavity, into which it accurately fits, steady, when they are inserted. In the centre there is a hole, *h*, for receiving an axis or pin which passes also through all the plates, and the dioptra made of white metal turns around it. The top has the following inscription, taken from the preface to the *Gulistán* of Sa'di:—

غرض نقشي است كز ما باز ماند
كه هستى را نمى بينم بقاى

"The intention of this drawing is that it should remain after us; for I see no permanence of life."

The back of the astrolabe ظهرالا سطرلاب (see Fig. 3) is divided into four quadrants by two lines intersecting at right angles in the centre of the instrument, and pointing to the four cardinal points. The limb is divided into degrees. It contains also the lines of shadows ظل مستوى the ظل اقدام معكوس and ظل اصابع معكوس the words "Workmanship of A'bd-al-A'ly in 119," i.e. ۱۱۹ with صنعه عبد الاعلى فى the date, no doubt, standing for A.H. 1119, A.D. 1707.

Fig. 4 shows the whole astrolabe complete in a side-view with the dioptra D D, fixed to its back, the dotted lines *a b*, *b c*, and *c d* showing the cavity, *i.e.* mother of the astrolabe, containing all the six plates. In this figure the dioptra is represented foreshortened, to show how on the pinules a small hole faces a large one, and *vicissim*. The dioptra, however, and all the small parts are also shown in separate figures, namely, Figs. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, for the sake of greater perspicuity, and require no further explanation.

The spider عنكبوت is represented in Fig. 11, and shows the ecliptic divided into degrees, with the twelve signs of the zodiac marked thereon.

Fig. 3.

Back of the Astrolabe.

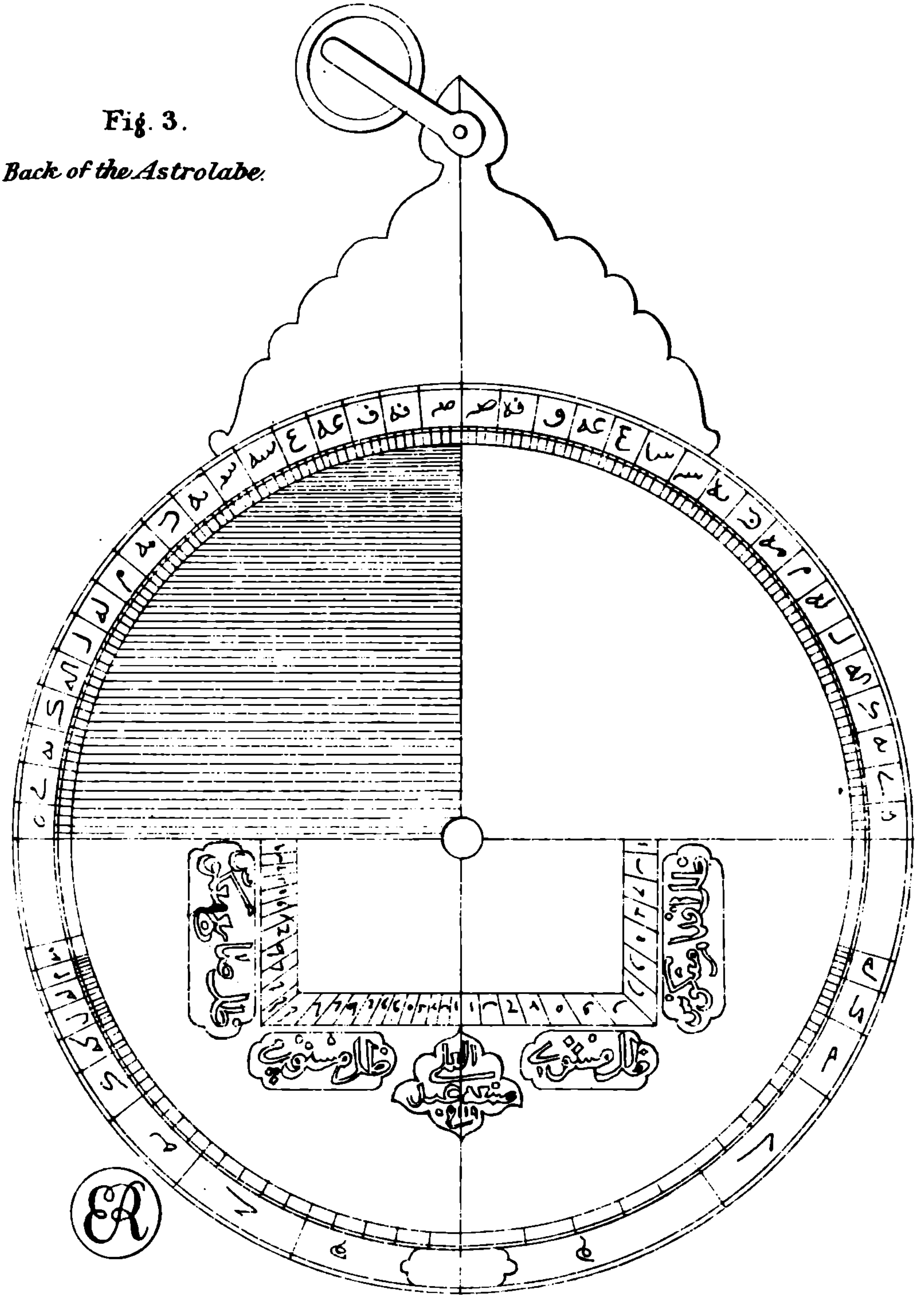


Fig. 4.

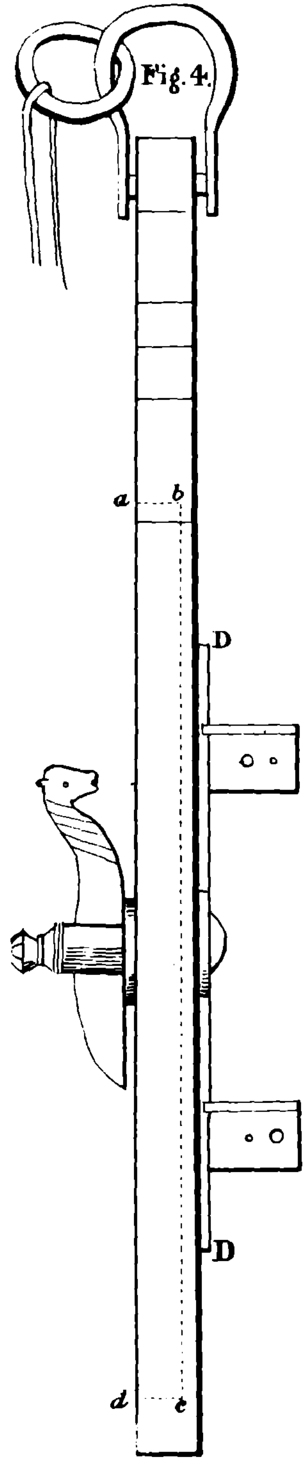
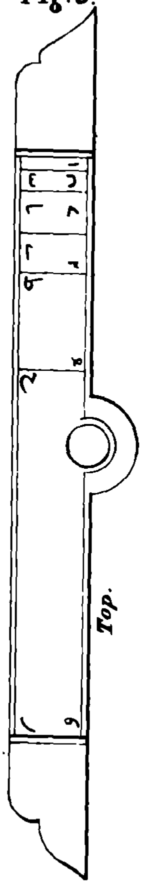
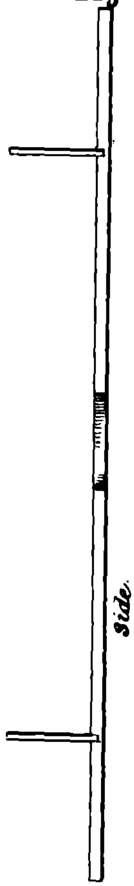


Fig. 5.



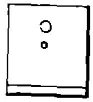
Top.

Fig. 6.



Side.

Fig. 7.



End.

Fig. 8.

Ring.

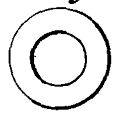
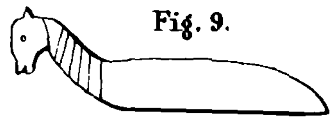
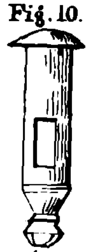


Fig. 9.



Horse.

Fig. 10.



Axis.

2 2 *

Fig. 11.

The constellations within the circle of the ecliptic in their proper places on the sky are as follows :—

الدب Ursa major.	فم الفرس Mouth of the horse.
راس الحوت Head of the fish.	السرطان Cancer.
النسر الواقع The falling eagle.	انف الخضيب Painted nose.
منكب Menkib.	عنق الحية Neck of the serpent.
سماك رامح Arcturus.	

Without the circle of the ecliptic are :—

جناح الغراب Wing of the crow.	ذراع Arm.
فرد احاج ?	رجل اليسري The left foot.
شعرشامي ?	ذنب قيطس Tail of the whale.
عين الثور Bull's eye.	قلب العقرب Heart of the scorpion.
ساوايمه ?	
قلب الاسد Heart of the lion.	

In the centre the *A'nkabút* has a hole, *h*, through which the axis of the instrument passes when inserted into the mother of the astrolabe, and near the limb there is a button, B, which the observer takes hold of when he wants to turn the spider around its centre, which is in the pole-star in the tail of Ursa minor. As the spider, when in position, is the uppermost plate, and inserted when the five others are already in the cavity and fixed by a quadrangular notch in each, corresponding exactly with and fitting the cubical protuberance *a* mentioned in the description of the mother of the astrolabe, and as it is above the said protuberance, there can be no obstacle to its motion round the centre.

The celestial globe of the Mulla Firuz Library is of brass, nearly eight inches in diameter, and is supported by a stand. The meridians are marked, as well as the ecliptic with the figures of the zodiac, and also the equator, both divided into degrees. The constellations, which amount to 48 or 49, but have in later times by European astronomers been augmented by four more, are all given in figures of men, animals, or other objects, with their names written on them in Arabic, the single stars in the constellations being marked by large dots of white metal, but most of these have no names attached to them. The axis does not pass through the true pole, where all the meridians intersect, but through the Pole-star in the tail of Ursa minor. From the inscription, one word of which is damaged, it appears that this celestial globe

was prepared for the instruction of the son of some great man. It is as follows:—

استصنعه و استصوره — الله ابو القاسم بن مولانا و استاذنا علامة
زمانه و وحيد اوانه عبد الرحمن بن حسن رحمهما الله رحمة واسعا

"Made and figured at the desire of ... Allah-Abul-Kásim, son of our lord and teacher, the paragon of his age, and unique in his period, A'bd-al-Rahman Ben Hasan. May God bestow abundant mercy on both of them!"

As the year is not marked, it cannot be accurately known when this celestial globe was manufactured, but, to judge from the writing, it cannot be very old.

ART. IX.—*Three Walabhí Copper-plates, with Remarks.* By the Hon'ble RA'O SA'HEB VISHVAṆA'TH NA'RA'YAN MAṆḌLIK, Vice-President.

Read April 10th, 1875.

I PRESENT the Society to-day with facsimiles, transcripts, and translations of three Walabhí copperplate grants.

Two of these were received from Captain Phillips, Assistant Political Agent in charge of theGoṇḍala State in Kaṭhiáwáḍ (or, more popularly, 'Kattywar'). Both refer to the same king. I describe them as A and B. Both are grants by the fifteenth (XV.*) king Śíláditya, and are later in date than all the other Walabhí plates hitherto published. The kings here described are as follows:—

Bhaṭṭárka (I)
his direct lineal descendant
Guhasena (II)
(III) Dharasena

- (IV) Śíladitya or Dharmáditya
  - (IX) Ḍerabhaṭṭa
    - (XII) Śíláditya
      - (XIII) Śíládityadeva
        - (XIV) Śíládityadeva
          - (XV) Śíládityadeva
    - (XI) Kharagraha or Dharmáditya
- (V) Kharagraha
  - (VI) Dharasena
    - (X) Dhruvasena
  - (VII) Dhruvasena or Báláditya
    - (VIII) Dharasena

The names of the kings occur in these plates in the order noted by the Roman figures written above. The fifth (V), Kharagraha, is

* The numbers given in the above table represent the order of names in these plates, and not the proper succession of the whole list of Walabhí kings.

stated in both to be the *súta* (or son) of Śíláditya Dharmáditya; but other copper-plates hitherto found describe him as *anuja* (or younger brother). After (No. VIII) Dharasena, while describing the descendants of (IV) Śíláditya or Dharmáditya, he (the said Śíláditya) is stated to be the brother of Dharasena's grandfather; and Kharagraha (V) is also described in terms which make him out to be the brother of Śíláditya; so that *anuja* (or brother) would be the correct reading, and not *súta* (or son).

(No. VI) Dharasena is styled in Plate B as Dhruvasena; but in Plate A he is styled Dharasena; and the latter seems to be the correct designation, as being borne out by other plates hitherto discovered.

(No. IX) Ḍerabhaṭṭa is stated in other plates as *angajanmá*, or son born of his body; but in both A and B he is styled *agrajanmá*, which may be his elder brother; the latter seems to be a mistake.

From No. XII Śíláditya all the subsequent princes up to XV are styled Śíládityadeva, but there is nothing else to distinguish them,—an unusual circumstance, which may perhaps be explained by other plates hereafter.

The fifteenth (XV) Śíláditya is the grantor of both A and B. Of these, A is dated Saṁvat 403 (of the Walabhí plates), Mágha Bahul * 12th; and grants to Dámodara Bhúti's son Wásudeva Bhúti, Chaturvedi, an emigrant from Wardhamána district (*i.e.* now Waḍhawáṇa Pránta) and living in Liptikhanda, of the Gargyas *goṭra*, of the Ṛig-Veda section, the village of Antarpilliká, near Dinnaputra, in Sauráshṭra. B is also a grant to the above individual of the village of Khandajja, near Uásingha,† in Sauráshṭra, dated Saṁvat 403, Vaiśákha Śuddha 13th.

Captain Phillips writes that these were found at Dhánka, a place of some note in Kattywar. It is under Goṇḍala (?). It is now a moderate-sized village. There are other places in its neighbourhood noted for antiquarian remains, worthy of being inquired into.

The third copper-plate (C) of which I present a facsimile, transcript, and translation to-day came from Thakore Raul Śri Megharájji, Chief of Walá, a third-class chief in Kattywar, who forwarded it to the Honourable James Gibbs, our President, by whom it was placed in my hands. Walá, sometimes called Walén by the people, is described in papers about

* *i.e.* dark half of the month of Mágha.

† On the Uásingha hill there is a fort of the late (Hindu) period, some of the stones whereof appear to have belonged to Jain or Buddhist buildings found on the north side of the fort walls in a mound, which, as well as its neighbourhood, requires to be carefully surveyed.

two centuries old as वलेह or वलहे (*i.e.* 'Waléh or Walahé,' a corruption of Walahi of the Jain *prákrita* authors, and the Walabhí of Sanskṛit writers. Colonel Tod was the first English writer who identified this place with the Walabhí of the ancients.

C consists of two copper-plates forming together one grant (or *dána-patra*), slightly spoilt by time, but, except the last corner of the first-plate, and a portion of the beginning of the second (which have been altogether destroyed by corrosion), the rest of the plates can nearly all be read pretty easily.

This grant contains the following enumeration of the Walabhí kings:—

Srí Bhaṭárka,
[A lineal descendant of his] Guhasena,
his son Dharasena,
his son Śíláditya or Dharmáditya.

The last-named is the grantor. Śíláditya made the grant in the 286th year of the era current in Walabhí plates, on the 6th of the dark half of the month of Jyeshṭha. Its object was to support the Bhikshus (by providing them with food, bedding, and seats); for the service of the sick; and for medicines and provisions, and for flowers and oil for lamps for the god (Buddha) of a Vihára (the name of the Vihára is obliterated) in Walabhí, and for the repairs, &c. of the Vihára itself. The following places are given by this grant, viz.:—

[The village of] Pandharakupiká (?) in the precincts [probably Parganá of] Pushyanaka-sthali, [in the village of] Uchchápadraka, in the possession of] one Suryaka, one field; and another field in the possession of [name obliterated]; in the village of Karkajja; one *wápi* [probably a measure of land which could be watered by one well] in the possession of Ardhaha, and one *wápi* in the possession of one Kambháka [or *ra* (?)], in the village of Indránipadraha; a field in the possession of [name obliterated]; on the confines of Walabhí; a flower-garden, and *kupakas* or wells. Thus a village with three fields, two *wápis*, a flower-garden, and four wells, were bestowed.

Wápi here probably signifies a piece of land watered by a *wápi* or well, and the fields are those cultivated by rain-water: this inference is supported by the present state of things in Kattywar, where these two kinds of fields exist. And the four wells must have been in the flower-garden.

Along with the last plate, the Thakore sent also two earthen seals, and some coins, on which I have to make very brief remarks.

The two seals are made of earth baked; one appears brown, and the other black.

The inscriptions are alike. The legend thereon is the Bauddha *mantra* so often met with in five lines:—

ये धर्म्मं हेतुप्र-
भवा हेतुं तेषां तथा-
गतो ह्यवदत्तेषां च
यो निरोध एवं वादी
महाश्रमणः

This occurs on the pedestals of Bauddha images met with in different parts of India, and also on seals found in *stupas* (or topes). The Bauddhas of Nepál use this *mantra* at the present day in worshipping the image of Buddha with parched rice; and it also occurs at the end of all their works. This *mantra* is not found in Bauddha writings prior to the fourth century of the Christian era, and also from the form of the letters on the seals it seems to be later than the end of the fourth century.

In some Nepál works the mantra line 2 reads, instead of हेतुं तेषां, हेतुस्तेषां; but the former is the form more frequent.

These seals are in a character later than that of the *Walabhí* plates, as may be seen from the formation of the letters य, ध, म. Comparing them with the plates, the seals may be of the seventh century of the Christian era, or somewhat later; and it seems, therefore, that at that time the city of Walabhí was the capital of a kingdom, and the religion then current there was that of Buddha.*

Dr. Bühler, in the *Indian Antiquary*, mentions a similar seal, the legend of which he there quotes partially. The third word there should, I think, be *prabhavá* instead of *Pravhava*.

Of the coins:—

Four are silver, commonly called *gadhayas*, of very impure metal. These are corruptions by the later Hindu dynasties of the Sassanian coins; and the present are some of the worst specimens of these corrupted forms. On one side is a human face almost undistinguishable by an unpractised eye. On the other is a bad form of the fire-altar. The ornaments which occur about the face on the better specimens are here mere dots. The five copper pice are of the later periods of the Muhammadan rulers.

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* Vol. I., p. 130.

WALABHI' COPPER-PLATES.

PLATE FIRST.

Transcript.

The Arabic numerals [1], [2], &c. in the body mark the lines on the original, and are put within brackets in order to show that they have been inserted by the writer of this paper. Those letters and phrases in the body which are bracketed, thus [ ], have likewise been inserted to supply omissions. The letters and words at the bottom of each page are corrections of the corresponding underlined letters and words in the body of the grant. Other notes require no further explanation.

The capitals A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, and I are introduced to mark the portions where the grant A differs from grant B, or where some other explanation is needed. These letters (A to I) mark paragraphs of a separate note which follows plate B. In other respects there is no difference between the two grants; and a translation of B has not, therefore, been inserted, as it would have been a mere repetition.

GOṆḌALA A.

[1] ॐ स्वस्ति जयस्कन्धावारात्
श्रीखेटकवासकात् प्रसभप्रणतामि-
त्राणां मैत्रकाणां(1)मतुलबलसम्पन्नमण्ड-
लाभोगसन्सक्त(2)प्रहारशतलब्धप्रता [2]
पात्मतापोपनतदानमानार्जवोपार्जितानु-
राग[ा]दनुरक्तमौलभृतश्रेणिबलावाप्त-
राज्यश्रियःपरममाहेश्वर(3):श्रीभट्टार्का(a)-
दव्यवच्छिन्नराजवङ्शा(4) [3] न्मातापि-
तृचरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधौताशेषकल्म-
षः शैशवात्प्रभृतिखड्गद्वितीयबाहुरेव स-

(1) णा (2) संसक्त (3) र

(a) On the seal are the letters "Śri Bhatarkka." (4) वंशा

GOṆḌALA B.

[1] ॐ स्वस्ति जयस्कन्धावारात्
श्रीखेटकवासकात् प्रसभप्रणतामित्र-
[ा]णां मैत्रकाणामतुलबलसम्पन्नमण्ड-
लाभोगसंसक्तप्रहारशतलब्धप्रतापात्प-
ता [2] पोपनतदानमानार्जवोपार्जिता-
नुरागादनुरक्तमौलभृतश्रेणिबलावाप्तरा-
ज्यश्रियः परममाहेश्वर(1): श्रीभट्टार्का-
दव्यवच्छिन्नराजवङ्शा(2)न्माता [3] पि-
तृचरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधौताशेषकल्म-
षः शैशवात्प्रभृतिखड्गद्वितीयबाहुरेव स-
मदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्त्वनि-

(1) र (2) वंशा

मदपरगजघट्टा[5]स्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्वनि-
कषः तत्प्रभावप्रणताराति [4] चूडारत्न-
प्रभासंसक्तपादनखरश्मिसंहति[:] स-
कलस्मृतिप्रणीतमार्गसम्यक्परिपालन-
प्रजाहृदयरञ्जनान्वर्थराजशब्दो रूप-
कान्तिस्थैर्य्यगाम्भीर्य्यबुद्धिः[6] सम्पद्भिः स्म
[5] रशशाङ्काद्रू[7]राजोदधित्तृ[8]दशगुरुधने-
शानतिशयानः शरणागताभयप्रदानप-
रतया तृणवदपास्ताशेषस्वकार्य्यफलः
प्रार्थनाधिकार्थप्रदानानन्दिताविद्वत्सुहृ-
त्प्रण [6] यिहृदः पादचारीव सकलभु-
वनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः परममाहेश्वरः
श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतः[9] स्तत्पादनखम-
यूखसन्तानविसृतजाह्नवीजलौघप्रक्षा-
लिताशेष [7] कल्मषः प्रणयिशतसह-
स्रोपजीव्यमानसम्पद्रूपलोभादिवाश्रितः
सरभसमाभिगामिकैर्गुणै[10]सहजशक्तिशि-
क्षाविशेषः[11] विस्मापिताखिलधनुर्धरः प्रथ-
मनर [8] पतिः[12] समतिसृष्टानामनुपाल-
यिता धर्म्मदायानां[13]मपाकर्त्ता प्रजोपघा-
तकारिणामुपप्लवानां दर्शयिता श्रीसर-
स्वत्योरेकाधिवासस्य संहताराातिपक्ष-
[14]मुक्षिप्तलक्ष्मीपारि [9] भोगदक्षविक्रमो-

(5) ट्टा (6) द्धि (7) द्रि (8) त्रि
(9) त (10) णैः (11) ष (12) ति
(13) ना (14) समुत्क्षिप्त

कषः तत्प्रभावप्रण[4]ताराातिचूडार-
त्नप्रभासंसक्तपादनखरश्मिसंहृ[3]तिः स-
कलस्मृतिप्रणीतमार्गसम्यक्परिपालनप्र-
जाहृदयरं[4]जनान्वर्थराजशब्दो रूपका-
न्तिस्थैर्य्यगाम्भी [5] र्य्यबुद्धिसंपद्भिः स्म-
रशशाङ्काद्रिराजोदधित्रिदशगुरुधनेशान-
तिशयानः शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतया
तृणवदपास्ताशेषस्वकार्य्यफलः प्रा[5]र्थना-
धिका [6] र्थप्रदानानन्दित[6]ः विद्वत्सुहृ-
त्प्र[ण]यिहृदयः पादचारीवसकलभुव-
नमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदःपरममाहेश्वरःश्री-
गुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूख-
सन्ता [7] नविसृतजाह्नवीजलौघप्रक्षा-
लिताशेषकल्मषः प्रणयिशतसहस्रोपजी-
व्यम[ा]नसम्पद्रूपलोभादिवाश्रित[7]सरभ-
समाभिगामिकैर्गुणै[8] सहजशक्तिशिक्षा-
विशे [8] ष[9]ः विस्मापिताखिलधनुर्धरः
प्रथमनरपतिसमतिसृष्टानां[10]मनुपालयिता
धर्मदायानां[11]मपाकर्त्ता प्रजोपघातकारि-
णामुपप्लवानां दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्यो-
रेकाधिवा [9] सस्य[सं]हताराा[A]तिपक्ष-
लक्ष्मीपरिभोगदक्षविक्रमोविक्रमोपसं-

(3) संह (4) रञ्ज (5) प्रा
(6) त (7) तः (8) णैः (9) ष
(10) ना (11) ना

विक्रमोपसम्प्राप्तविमलपार्थिवश्रीः पर-
ममाहेश्वरः **श्रीधरसेन**स्तस्य सुतस्त-
त्पादानुध्यानसकलजगदानन्दनात्यद्भुत-
गुणसमुदयस्थगितसम [10] ग्रदिग्म-
ण्डलः समरशतविजयशोभासनाथम-
ण्डलाग्र[15]द्युतिभासुरांसपीठो व्यूढगुरुम-
नोरथमहाभारःसर्व्वविद्यापराप[16]रः विभा-
गाधिगमविमलमतिरपि [11] सर्व्वतः
सुभाषितलवेनापि सुखोपपादनीयपरि-
तोषः समग्रलोकागाधगाम्भीर्य्यहृदयोपि
[17]सुच्चरितातिशयितसुव्यक्तपरमकल्याण-
स्वभावो निखिलकृतयुग [12] नृपतिप-
थविशो[18]धनाधिगतोदग्रकीर्त्तिर्धर्म्मानुप-
रोधोज्ज्वलतरीकृतार्थसुखसम्पदुपसेवा-
निरूढ**धर्म्मादित्या**परमना[19]मा परममा-
[20]हेश्वर् श्रीशीलादित्य [13] स्तस्य सु-[21]
तस्तत्पादानुध्यातःस्वयमुपेन्द्रगुरुणेव गु-
रुणात्यादरवता समभिलषणीयामपि
राजलक्ष्मीं स्कन्धासक्तां परमभद्रइव धु-
र्य्यस्तदाज्ञासम्पादनैकरसतयेवोद्व [14]
[22]हनखेदसुखरतिभ्यामनायासितसत्त्व-
सम्पत्तिः प्रभावसम्पद्वशीकृतनृपतिशत-

(15) र्भा (16) र (17) सच्चरितातिशयित or सुचरितातिशयित (18) Repetition, see B. (19) परनामा (20) रः (21) Should, from the context and other plates, be तस्यानुजः (22) न्

प्राप्तविमलपार्थिवश्रीः परममाहेश्वरः
श्रीधरसेनः तस्यानु[12]जः तत्पादानुध्यातः
सकलजगदानन्द [10] नात्यद्भुतगुणस-
मुदायस्थगितसमग्रदिङ्मण्डलः सम-
रश[त]विजयशोभासनाथमण्डलाग्रद्यु-
तिभासुरांसपीठोव्यूढगुरुमनोरथमहा-
भारः सर्व्वविद्याप[11]राप[13]रः विभा-
गाधि[14]गमः विमलमतिरपि सर्व्वत[:]
सुभाषितलवेनापि सुखोपपादनीय[15]ः परि-
तोषः समग्रलोकागाध[16]गांभीर्य्यहृदयोपि
B [17]
सुचरितातिशयः [12] सुव्यक्तपरमक-
ल्याणस्वभावो निखिलकृतयुगनृपतिप-
थविशोधनाधिगतो[18]धिगतोदग्रकीर्त्तिर्ध-
र्म्मानुपरोधोज्ज्वलतरीकृतार्थसुखसंपदुप- C
सेवानिरूढधर्मादित्य [13] द्वितीयनामा
परममाहेश्वरः **श्रीशीलादित्य**स्तस्य-
[19]सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यातः स्वयमुपेन्द्रगुरुणेव
गुरुणात्यादरवता समभिलषणीयामपि
राजलक्ष्मीं स्कन्धास [14] क्तां परमभ-
[द्र]इव धुर्य्यस्तदाज्ञा[सं]पादनैकरस-
[त]येवोद्वहनखेदसुखरतिभ्यामनाया-
सितसत्वसम्पत्तिः प्रभावसम्पद्वशीकृत-

(12) तस्य सुतः The original is clearly an error. (13) र (14) म (15) य (16) गाम्भी (17) य (18) धिगतोधि गतो The repetition is a clerical error. (19) स्यानुज

शिरोरत्नछायोपगूढपादपीठोपि परावज्ञाभिमानरस[।]नालिङ्गितमनोवृत्तिः [15] प्रणतिमेकां परित्यज्य प्रख्यातपौरुषाभिमानैरप्यरातिभि[23]: रनासादितप्रति[24]क्रियोपायः। कृतनिखिलभुवनामोदविमलगुणसंहतिः प्रसभविघटित [16] सकलकलिविलसितगतिर्नीचजनाधिरोहिभिरशेषैर्दोषैरनामृष्टात्युन्नतहृदयः प्रख्यातपौरुषास्त्रकौशलातिशयः [25]गुणति[26]थविपक्षक्षितिपतिलक्ष्मीस्वय [17]ङ्ग्राहप्रकाशितप्रवीरपुरुषप्रथमनरपति[27]: प्रथमसङ्ख्याधिगमः परममाहेश्वरः **श्रीखरग्रह**स्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यातः सर्वविद्याधिगम[28]: विहितनिखिल [18] विद्वज्जनमनःपरितोषातिशयः सत्वसम्पदात्यागौदार्य्येण च [29]विगतानुसन्धानसमाहितारातिपक्षमनोरथरथाक्षभङ्गः सम्यगुपलक्षितानेकशास्त्रकलालोकचरितगव्हरवि [19] भागोपि परमभद्रप्रकृतिरकृ[30]त्मप्रश्रयोपि विनयशोभाविभूषणः [31]शमरशतजयपताकाहरणप्रत्यलो[32]द-

(23) भि (24) क्रि (25) ग
(26) प (27) ति (28) म
(29) Some plates make it अधिगतानुसन्धानः, *i. e.* who found out [all] the schemes [of his enemies].
(30) त्रि (31) स (32) May be यो. (?)

नृपतिशतशिरोरत्नछायोपगूढपा [15] दपीठोपि परावज्ञाभिमानरस[।]नालिङ्गितमनोवृत्तिः प्रणतिमेकां परित्यज्य प्रख्यातपौरुषाभिमानैरप्यरातिभिरना[20]सादितप्रतिक्रियोपायः कृतनिखिलभुवना [16] मोदविमलगुणसंहतिः प्रसभविघटितसकलकलिविलसितगतिर्नीचजनाधिरोहिभिरशेषैर्दोषैरनामृष्टात्युन्नतहृदयः प्रख्यातपौरुषास्त्रकौशला [17]-[21]तिशयः गुणतिथविपक्षक्षितिपतिलक्ष्मीस्वयङ्ग्राहप्रकाशितप्रवीरपुरुष[22]: प्रथम[23]नरपतिःप्रथमसङ्ख्याधिगमः परममाहेश्वरः **श्रीखरग्रहः** तस्य [18] सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यातः सर्वविद्याधिगम[24]:विहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमनःपरितोषातिशयः सत्वसम्पदात्यागौदार्य्येण च विगतानु[25]सन्धानसमाहितारा ति [19] पक्षः मनोरथरथाक्षभङ्गः सम्यगुपलक्षितानेकशा[26]स्त्रकलालोकचरितगव्हरःविभागोपि परमभद्रप्रकृतिरकृत्रिमप्रश्रयोपि विनयशोभावि [20] भूषणः समरशतजयपता-

(20) क्रि (21) ग (22) ष (23) ति
(24) म (25) रातिपक्ष (26) र

[33] ग्रबाहुदण्डविध्वन्सितनिखिलप्रतिपक्ष-
दर्प्पोदयः स्वधनुः [20] प्रभावपरिभू-
तास्त्रकौशलाभिमानसकलनृपतिमण्ड-
लाभिनन्दितशासनः परममाहेश्वरः श्री-
[34] धरसनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यातः स-
[35] च्चरितातिशयसकलपूर्व्व [21] नरपति-
[36] रतिदुस्साधनानामपिप्रसाधयिता विष-
याणां मूर्त्तिमानिव पुरुषकारः परिवृद्ध-
[37] गुणानुरागनिर्भरः चित्तवृत्तिभिर्मनुरिव
स्वयमभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृतिभिरधिगतकला
[कला] [22] पः कान्तिमान्निर्वृतिहेतुर-
कलङ्कः कुमुदनाथः प्राज्यप्रतापस्थगि-
[38] [39] तादिगन्तरालप्रध्वन्सितध्वांतराशिसत-
[40] तोदित सविता प्रकृतिभ्यः परं प्रत्यय-
मर्थवन्तमतिबहुति[23] थप्रयोजनानु-
[41] बन्धमागमपरिपूर्णःविदधान[:]सन्धिवि-
ग्रहसमासनिश्चयनिपुणः स्थानानुरूप-
मादेशं ददद्गुणवृद्धि विधानजनितसंस्का-
र[:]साधूनां राज्यशालातुरीयत[24]
न्त्रयोरुभयोरपिनिष्णातः प्रकृष्टविक्रमो-
पि करुणामृदुहृदयः श्रुतवानप्यगर्व्वितः
कान्तोपि प्रशमी स्थिरसौहार्द्दोपि निर-

(33) विध्वंसित (34) Should be तस्यानुजः as appears from other plates. (35) शयित would be better. (36) ना (37) र (38) प्रध्वंसित (39) शिः (40) तः (41) पूर्ण

[27] काहरणप्रत्यलोदग्रबाहुदण्डविध्वन्सि-
तप्रतिपक्षदर्प्पोदयः स्वधनुः प्रभावपरि-
भूतास्त्रकौशलाभिमान [21] सकलनृप-
तिमण्डलाभिनन्दितशासनः परममाहे-
[28] D श्वरः श्रीध्रुवसेनस्तस्यानुजस्तत्पादा-
नुध्यातः सर्व्वविद्याधिगम[ा]तिशयित
E सकलपूर्वनरपति[22] रतिदुस्साधनाना-
मपि साधयिता विषयाणां मूर्तिमानि-
[29] [29a] व पुरुसकारः परिवृद्धगुणानुरागनिर्भरः
चित्तवृ[त्ति]भिर्मनुरिव स्वयमभ्युप-
[23] पन्नः प्रकृतिभिरधिगतकलाकलापः
[30] कान्तिमान्निर्वृत्तिः हेतुरकलङ्कःकुमुदना-
थः प्राज्यप्रतापस्थगितादिगन्तरालप्रध्वं-
सितध्वान्तराशिःसततोदित[ः]सविता
[24] प्रकृतिभ्यः परं प्रत्ययमर्थवन्तम-
तिबहुतिथप्रयोजनानुबन्धमागमपरिपूर्णं
विदधान[ः]संधिविग्रहसमासनिश्चयनि-
पुणः स्थानानुरूपमा [25] देशं ददद्गु-
[31] णवृद्धिः विधानजनितसंस्कार[ः] साधूनां
राज्यशालातुरीयतन्त्रयो रुभयोरपि
निष्णात[ः]प्रकृष्टविक्रमोपि करुणामृदु-
हृदयः[26]श्रुतवानप्यगर्व्वितःकान्तोपि
[32] प्रशमी सिरसौहार्द्दोपि निरसितादोषक-

(27) ध्वंसि (28) श्रीधरसेन (29) ष (29a) र (30) ति (31) द्धि (32) स्थि

सितादोषवतामुदयसमुपजनित[25] ज-
नानुरागपरिबृंहितभुवनसमार्थितप्राथित-
बालादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः
[42] श्रीध्रुवसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादकमल-
प्रणामधरणिकषण [26] किणलाञ्छन-
ललाटचन्द्रशकलः शिशुभावएव श्रव-
णनिहितमौक्तिकालङ्कारविभ्रम [।]मल-
श्रुतिविशेष [:] मदानसलिलक्षालिता-
ग्रहस्तारविन्द[:]कन्या [27] याइव मृ-
दुकरग्रहणादमन्दीकृतानन्दविधिर्व्वसु-
न्धरायाः कार्म्मुके धनुर्वेदइव सम्भावि-
ताशेषलक्ष्यकलाप[:]प्रणतसमस्तसाम-
[43] न्त [28] मण्डलोतमाङ्गधृतचूडारत्ना-
यमानशासनः परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टा-
रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरः चक्रवर्ती
श्रीधरसेनः

[33] तामुदयसमुपजनितजनानुरागपरिविङ्हि-
तभुव[27] नसमर्थितप्रथितबालादित्य-
[34] द्वितीयनामा: परममाहेश्वरः श्रीध्रुवसे-
नस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादकमलप्रणामधरणि-
F
कषणजनि [28] तकिणलाञ्छनललाट-
चन्द्रशकलः शिशुभावएव श्रवणनिहि-
[35] तमौक्तिकालङ्कारः विभ्रमामलश्रुतिवि-
शेषः प्रदानसलिलक्षा [29] लिताग्रह-
G
स्तारविन्द[:]कन्यायाइव मृदुकरग्रहणा-
[36] दमन्दीकृतानन्दः कार्म्मुके धनुर्वेदइव स-
म्भाविताशेषलक्ष्यकलापः [30] प्रणतस-
[37] मस्तसामन्तमन्डलोत्तमांगः धृतचूडार-
त्नायमानशासनः परममाहेश्वरः पर[म]
भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरचक्रव-
[38] र्ति श्रीधरसेनः

A.

Second Plate.

[1] तत्पितामहभ्रातृश्रीशीलादित्य-
स्य शार्ङ्गपाणेरिवाग्रजन्मनो भक्तिबंधु-
रावयवकल्पितप्रणतेरतिधवलया दूरं त-
[44] त्पादारविन्दप्रवित्तया चरणनखमणिरु-
चा मन्दाकिन्ये [2] व नित्यममलितोत्त-
[45] माङ्गदेशस्यागस्त्यस्येवराजर्षेर्दाक्षिण्य

([42]) त ([43]) त्त ([44]) वृ ([45]) राजर्षे

B.

Second Plate.

[1] तत्पितामहभ्रातृश्रीशीलादित्य-
[39] स्य शार्ङ्पाणेरिवाग्रजन्मनो भक्तिबन्धु-
रावयवकल्पितप्रणतेरतिधवलया दूरं त-
त्पादारविन्दप्रवृत्तया चरण[2]नखम-
णिरुचा मन्दाकिन्येव नित्यममालितोत्त-
माङ्गदेशस्यागस्त्यस्येव राजर्षेर्दाक्षिण्य-

([33]) बृंहि ([34]) मा ([35]) र ([36]) दविधिर्वसुंधरायाः See corresponding portion of A. ([37]) ङ्ग ([38]) र्त्ती ([39]) वाङ्ग

मातन्वानस्य प्रबलधवलिम्ना यशसां
वलयेन मण्डितककुभा न[भ]सि या-
मिनीपतेर्विरचिता [3] शेष[ा]खण्डपरि-
वेशमण्डलस्य पयोदश्यामशिखरचूचु-
करुचि[र]सह्य[46]विध्यस्तनयुगायाः क्षितेः
पत्युः श्रीडेरुभटस्याङ्गजः क्षितिपः[47] सं-
हते [4] रनुरागिण्याः शुचियशोङ्शुक[48]-
भृतः स्वयंवरमालामिव राज्यश्रियमर्प-
यन्त्याः कृतपरिग्रहः शौर्य्यममातिहत-
व्यापारमानमितमचण्ड[ा]रि [5] मण्ड-
लमण्डलाग्रमिवालम्बमान [:]शरदि प्र-
सभमाकृष्टशिलीमुखबाणासनापादितप्र-
साधनानां परभुवां विधिवदारचित्त[49]कर-
ग्रहणः पूर्व्वमेव विवि [6] धवर्णोज्ज्व-
लेन श्रुतातिशयेनोद्भासितश्रवणयुगलः
पुनः पु [न]रुक्तेनेवरत्नालंङ्कारेणालङ्कृ-
तश्रोत्रः परिस्फुरत्कटकविकटकीटपक्षर-
त्नवलयमविच्छिन्नमदा [7] नसलिलनि-
वहावसेकाविलसन्निव[50] शैबालाङ्कुरमि-
वाग्रपाणि[51]पाणिमुद्वहन् धृतविशालरत्न-
वलयवेलातटायमानभुजपरिष्वक्तविश्वं-
भरः परममाहेश्वरः [8] **श्रीध्रुवसेन**-
स्तस्याग्रजो परमहीपतिस्पर्शदोषनाश-

(46) विन्ध्य (47) प (48) शोंशु
(49) त (50) विलसन्नवशैवलाङ्कुर
(51) A clerical error.

मातन्वानस्य प्रबलधवलिम्ना यशशां[40]
वलयेन मण्डि[3]तककुभा नभसि
यामिनीपतेर्विरचिताशेष[ा]खण्डपरिवे-
षमण्डलस्य पयोदश्यामशिखरचूचुक-
रुचि[र]सह्यविन्ध्यस्तनयुगायाः क्षितेः
[4] पत्युः श्रीडेरभटस्याङ्गजः क्षितिप-
संहतेरनुरागिण्याः शुचियशोंशुकभृतः
स्वयंवरमालामिव राज्यश्रियमर्पय-
न्त्याः कृतपरिग्रहः शौर्य[41]मप्रतिहतव्या-
पारमान [5] मितप्रचण्डरिपुमण्डलम[42]-
ण्डलाग्रमिवावलम्बमानः शरदिप्रसभ-
माकृष्टशिलीमुखबाणासनापादितपला[43]-
धनां परभुवां विधिवदाचरितकरग्रहणः
पूर्वमेव विविधव [6] र्णोज्ज्वलेन श्रु-
तातिशयेनोद्भासितश्रवणयुगलः पुनपु-
नरुक्तेनेव रत्नालङ्कारेणालङ्कृतश्रोत्रः प-
रिस्फुरत्कट [क] विकटकीटपक्षरत्नवल-
यजलधिवेलातटायमानभुजपरिष्व [7]
क्तविश्वंभरः परममाहेश्वरः **श्रीध्रुवसे**-
नस्तस्याग्रजोपर[म]हीपतिस्पर्शदोष-
नाशनाधियेव लक्ष्म्या स्वयमतिस्पष्ट-
चेष्टमाश्लिष्टाङ्गयष्टिरतिरुचिरतरचरि-
H
तगरिम [8] परिकलितसकलनरपति[:]-
प्रसर्पत्पटीय[:]प्रतापप्लोषिताशेषशत्रुव[44]-

(40) सां (41) शौर्य (42) लं
(43) प्रसा (44) वंशः

[52]नाधियेव लक्ष्म्या स्वयमतिस्पष्टचेष्टमा-
श्लिष्टाङ्गयष्टिरतिरुचिरतरचरितगरिम-
परिकलितसक [9] लनरपतिः प्रकृष्टानु-
रागसरभसवशीकृतनृपतिः प्रतापप्लोषि-
ताशेषशत्रुव[53]ङ्शः प्रणयिपक्षमुक्षिप्तल[54]-
क्ष्मीकः प्रेरितगदोक्षिप्तसुदर्शनचक्रःपरि-
[10] हृतबालक्रीडोनधःकृतद्विजातिरेक-
विक्र[55]मोप्रसाधितधरित्रीतलो नाङ्गीकृत-
जलशय्योपूर्व्वपुरुषोत्तमतया साक्षाद्ध-
र्म्मइव सम्यग्व्यवस्थापितवर्णाश्रमा[11]
चारः पूर्वै[56]रप्यूर्वीपतिभिः[57]तृष्णालवलुब्धै-
र्यान्यपहृतानि देवब्रह्मदेयानि तेषाम-
प्यतिसरलमनःप्रसरमुत्सङ्कलनानुमोद-
नाभ्यांपरिमु[12]दितस्तृ[58]भुवनाभिनन्दि-
तोच्छ्रितोत्कृष्टधवलधर्म्मध्वज[59]ः प्रकाशि-
तनिजव[60]ङ्शो देवद्विजगुरून्प्रतिपूज्य य-
थार्हमनवरतप्रवार्त्तितमहोद्रङ्गा[61]ः दिदान-
व्यवसा[या]नु[13] पजातसन्तोषोपा-
त्तोद्[62]ारकीर्त्तिपत्ति[63]ःपरम्परादन्तुरितनि-
खिलदिक्चक्रवालः स्पष्टमेवयथार्थ[64]ध-

(52) न (53) वं (54) समुत्क्षिप्त-
लक्ष्मीको (55) म (56) उर्व्वी (57) भि-
स्तृष्णा (58) त्रि (59) ज (60) वंशो
(61) ङ्गा (62) दा (63) पङ्क्ति
(64) र्थ

ङ्शः प्रणयिपक्षमु[45]क्षिप्तलक्ष्मीकः प्रेरि-
तगदोक्षिप्तसुदर्शनचक्रः परिहृतबाल-
क्रीडोनाधःकृत [9] द्विजातिरेकविक्र[46]मो-
प्रसाधितधरित्रीतलो नाङ्गीकृतजलश-
य्योपूर्वपुरुषोत्तमस्साक्षाद्धर्म्मइव सम्य-
ग्व्यवस्थापितवर्णाश्रमाचारः पूर्वैरप्यूर्व[47]-
पतिभिः तृष्णालवलु [10] ब्धैर्यान्यप-
हृतानि देवब्रह्मदेयानि तेषामप्यतिस-
रलमनः प्रसरमुत्सङ्कलनानुमोदनाभ्यां
परिमुदितत्[48]ृभुवनाभिनन्दितोछ्रि[49]तोत्कृष्ट-
धवलधर्मध्वजः प्रकाशितनिज[11] वंशो
देवद्विजगुर[50]ुं प्रतिपूज्य यथार्हमनवरतप्र-
वर्तितमहोद्रङ्गादिदानव्यवसा[या]नु-
पजातसन्तोषोपात्तोदारकीर्तिपङ्क्तिपरम्प-
रादन्तुरितनिखिलदिक्चक्रवालः [12]
स्पष्टमेवयथार्थं धर्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा
परममाहेश्वरः **श्रीखरग्रहस्**तस्याग्रज-
न्मनः कुमुदषण्डश्रीविकासिन्या कला-
वतश्चन्द्रिकयेव कीर्त्या धवलितसकल-
दि[51]ङ्मण्डलः [13] खण्डितागुरुविलेपन-
पिण्ड श्यामलविन्ध्यशैलविपुलपयोधरा-

(45) समुत्क्षि (46) म
(47) उर्वी (48) त्रि (49) च्छ्रि
(50) रून्प्र (51) लस्य

[65]मोदित्यपरमनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्री-
[66]खरग्रहः [14] स्तस्याग्रजन्मनः कुमुद-
[67]षण्डः श्रीविकासिन्या कलावतश्चन्द्रि-
कयेव कीर्त्या धवलितसकलदिग्मण्ड[68][ल]
स्य खण्डितागुरुविलेपनापिण्डश्यामल-
विन्ध्यशैलाविपुलपयोधरायाः [15] क्षितेः
पत्युः श्रीशीलादित्यस्य सूनुर्नवमालेय-
किरण इव प्रतिदिनसंवर्द्धमानकलाचक्र-
वाल[:] केसरीन्द्रशिशुरिव राजलक्ष्मी-
मचलवनस्थलीमिवालङ्कुर्वाणः [16] शि-
खण्डकेतनइव चूडामण्डन[:]प्रचण्डश-
क्तिप्रभावश्च शरदागम इव प्रतापवानु-
ल्लसत्पद्मः संयुगे विदलयं[69]नम्भोधरानिव
परगजानुदयतपनबालातपइव [17] सं-
[70]ग्रामेषु मुष्णंनभिमुखानामायुंषि द्विषतां
परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टारकमहाराजा-
धिराजपरमेश्वरः श्रीबावपादानुध्यात-
परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधि [18] राजपर-
मेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्यदेवस्तस्य सु-
तः क्षुभितकलिजलधिकल्लोलाभिभूतिम-
ज्जन्महामहीमण्डलोद्धारधैर्य्यप्रकटित-
पुरुषोत्तमतया निखिलजन [19] मनो-
रथपरिपूरणपरो परइव चिन्तामणिश्चतु-
स्सागरावरुद्धसीमापरिकरांच प्रदानस-
मये तृणमिव लघीयसीम्भुवमभिमन्यमा-

(65) धर्मादित्यापरनामा (66) ह (67) षण्ड
(68) डूम (69) यन्न (70) ष्णान्न

45 r a s

याः क्षितेः पत्युः श्रीशीलादित्यस्य
सूनुर्नवप्रालेयकिरणइव प्रतिदिनसंवर्द्ध-
मानकलाचक्रवालः के[14] सरीन्द्रशि-
शुरिव राजलक्ष्मीमचलवनस्थलीमिवा-
लंकुर्वाणः शिखण्डिकेतनइव चूडाम-
ण्डणः प्रचण्डशक्तिप्रभावश्च शरदाग-
मइव प्रतापवानुल्लसत्पद्मः संयुगे वि
[15] दलयन्नम्भोधरानिव परगजानुद-
[52]यतपनबालातपइव सङ्ग्रामेषु मुष्णंनभि-
मुखानामायूंषि द्विषतां परममाहेश्वरः
[53]परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरः
[16] श्रीबावपादानुध्यातः परमभट्टा-
रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरः श्रीशी-
लादित्यदेवः [तस्य सुतः]क्षुभितकलि-
जलधिकल्लोलाभिभूतिमज्जन्महामहीम-
ण्डलोद्धारधैर्य्यप्रकटितपुरुषोत्त[17]म-
तया निखिलजनमनोरथ परिपूरणपरो-
परइव चिन्तामणिश्चतुस्सागरावरुद्धसी-
मापरिकराञ्चप्रदानसमये तृणमिव ल-
घीयसीं भुवमभिमन्यमानो परपृ[18]
थ्वीनिर्म्माणव्यवसायासादितपारमैश्वर्य-
[:]कोपाकृष्टनिस्त्रिंशनिपातविदलितारा-
तिकरिकुम्भस्थलोल्लसत्प्रसृतमहाप्रता-
[54]पानलप्राकारपरिगतजगन्मण्डलः लब्ध-
स्थिति [19] विकटनिजदोर्दण्डावल-
म्बिना सकलभुवनाभोगभाजा मन्थानो

(52) ष्णन्न (53) र (54) ल

परपृथ्वीनिर्म्माणव्यवसा [20] यासा-
दिततपारमैश्वर्य्य[71] [:] कोपाकृष्टनिस्तृङ्-[72]
शानिपातविदलितारातिकारिकुम्भस्थलो-
ल्लसत्प्रसृतमहाप्रतापानल[73]: प्राकारपरि-
गतजगन्मण्डललब्धस्थितिर्विकटनिज-
दोर्द्द [21] ण्डावलम्बिना सकलभुवना-
भोगभाजा मन्थास्फालनविधूतदुग्धसि-
न्धुफेनपिण्डपाण्डुरयशोवितानेन पिहि-
तातपत्रः परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टारकम-
हाराजाधि [22] राजपरमेश्वर**श्रीबप्प**-
पादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधि-
राजपरमेश्वर **श्रीशीलादित्यदेवः** त-
त्पुत्रः प्रतापानुरागप्रतापानुराग[74]प्रणतस-
मस्तसामं [23] तचूडामणिमयूखखचि-
तरञ्जितपदारविन्दः परममाहेश्वरपरम-
भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर**श्रीब**-
प्पपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधि-
राजपरमेश्वर [24] **श्रीशीलादित्य**-
देवा[75]सर्व्वानेवसमाज्ञापयत्यस्तु व[:] सं-
विदितं यथा मया मातापित्रो[76]: रात्मनश्च
पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ऐहिकामुष्मिकफला-
वाप्त्यर्थं **श्रीविर्द्धमानभुक्तिविनिर्ग**-
त**लिम्प** [25] **खण्ड**वास्तव्यतच्चातुर्वि-
द्यसामान्यगार्ग्यसगोत्रबह्वृचसब्रह्मचा-

स्फालनविधूतदुग्धसिन्धुफेनपिण्डपाण्डु-
रयशोवितानेन पिहितातपत्र[:]परममा-
हेश्वरः परमभट्टारक [20] महाराजा-
धिराजपरमेश्वर**श्रीबप्प**पादानुध्यातः
परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्व[55]:
श्रीशीलादित्यदेवःतत्पुत्रः प्रतापानु-
रागप्रणतसमस्तसामन्तचू [21] डाम-
णिमयूखखचितरञ्जितपादारविन्दः प-
रममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधि-
राजपरमेश्वरश्रीबप्पपादानुध्यातः परम-
भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज [22] परमेश्वरः
श्रीशीलादित्यदेवःसर्व्वानेवसमाज्ञा-
पयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा मया मा-
तापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ऐ-
हिकामुष्मिकफलावा [23] प्त्यर्थं **श्रीवर्द्ध**-
मानभुक्तिविनिर्गत **लिम्प**खण्डवा-
स्तव्यतच्चातुर्विद्यसामान्यगार्ग्यसगोत्र-
बह्वृचसब्रह्मचारिभट्ट**दामोदर**भूतिपु[56]-
त्र**भट्टवासु** [24] देवभूतिनाय बलिच-
रुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रक्रतुक्रियाद्युत्सर्पणार्थं
सुराष्ट्रेषु **उआसिङ्घ**समीप**काण्ढज्ज**-
ग्रामस्सोद्रङ्गस्सोपरिकरस्सोत्पद्य [25]
मानविष्टिकस्सभूतपातप्रत्याय [:] सधा-
न्याहिरण्यादेय[:]सदशापराध [:] सर्व-
राजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीय [:] पूर्व्वप्र-

(71) सादित (72) स्त्रिंश (73) ल
(74) प्रतापानुराग is repeated. (75) वः
(76) त्रो

(55) श्वरः (56) भूतये

रिभट्टदामोदरभूतिपुत्रभट्टवासुदेव-
भूतिनाय[77] बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रक्र-
[78]तुक्रियाद्युत्सर्प्प [26]णार्थं **सुराष्ट्रेषु** दि-
न्नापुत्रसमीपे **अंतरपल्लिका**ग्राम-
स्सोद्रङ्गः सोपरिकरस्सोत्पद्यमानविष्टीक
[:]सभूतपातप्रत्यायः सधान्यहिरण्या-
देय[:]स[द]शापराध[:]सर्व्वराजकीया-
ना [27] महस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः पूर्वप्रत्तदेव-
ब्रह्मदायरहितो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाच-
न्द्रार्क्कार्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीन[79]ः
पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यउदकातिसर्गेण धर्म-
दायो [28] निसृष्टो यतोस्योचितया ध-
र्म्मदायस्थित्या भुंजतः कृषतः कर्षापयतः[80]
प्रदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्व्यासेधे वर्त्तितव्यं
आगामिभद्रनृपतिभि[81]ः रप्यस्मद्वङ्शजै[82]
रन्यैर्वा नित्या [29] न्यैश्वर्य्याण्यस्थिरं
मानुष्यं सामान्यञ्च भूमिदानफलमवग-
च्छद्भि[83]ःरयमस्मदा[84]योनुमन्तव्यो[85] परिपाल-
यितव्यश्चेत्युक्तञ्च [।।] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा
भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।।] [30]
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
फलम् [।।१।।]यानीह दारिद्र्यभयान्नरे-
न्द्रैर्द्धनानि धर्म्मायतनीकृतानि[।।]निर्म्मा-

(77) भूतये instead of भूतिनाय (78) क्रि (79) लीनः (80) It would be better to have it कर्षयतः (81) भि (82) वंशजैः (83) द्भि (84) दा (85) व्यः

त्तदेवब्रह्मदायरहितो [26] भूमिच्छि-
द्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्कार्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वत-
समकालिन[57]ः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यउद-
कातिसर्गेणधर्मदायो निसृष्टः यतोस्यो-
चितया धर्म्मदाय [27] स्थित्या भुंजत[58]ः
कृषतः कर्षापयत[:]प्रदिशतो वा न कै-
श्चिद्व्यासेधे वर्तितव्यं आगामिभद्रनृप-
तिभिरप्यस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैर्वानित्यान्यैश्वर्या-
ण्यस्थिरञ्च [28] मानुष्यं सामान्यञ्च
भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भि[59]ः रयमस्मदा[60]-
योनुमन्तव्य[:] परिपालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं-
[च]बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरा-
दिभिः[।।] [29] यस्य यस्य यदा भू-
मिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम्[61] [१] यानीह
दारिद्र्यभयान्नरेन्द्रै[62]ः धनानि धर्म्मा-
यतनीकृतानि[।।]निर्म्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि
तानि कोनाम सा [30] धुः पुनराददीत
[।।२।।]षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे ति-
ष्ठति भूमिदः [।।]आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता
च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति [31] दूत-
कोत्रराजपुत्र**श्रीशीलादित्यः** लिखि-
तमिदं**श्रीबुद्धभट**पुत्रबलाधिकृत**श्री-
गिल्लके**नेति संव ४०३ वैशाखशुद्ध
१३ स्वहस्तो मम

(57) लीनः (58) भुञ्ज (59) द्भि (60) दा (61) म् (62) न्द्रैर्ध

ल्यवानत्मतिमानि[36] तानि को नाम साधुः
पुनराददीत [॥२॥]षष्टिं [31] वर्षसह-
स्त्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः आच्छेत्ता
चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति
[॥२॥] दूतकोत्र राजपुत्रश्रीशिला-
दित्य[:]लिखितमिदं [32] श्रीबुद्ध-
भटपुत्रबलाधिकृत श्रीगिल्लकेनेति
संव ४०३ माघब १२ स्वहस्तो मम

(36) वान्तमतिमानि.

Translation of the Walabhí Copper-plate Grant.

GOṆḌALA A.

Plate First.

[May] Prosperity [attend]!

From the great Śaiva Śrí Bhaṭṭárka,* [who] resided in the city named Śrikheṭaka, the abode of success;

who had achieved success in hundreds of battles occurring in the wide extent of territories of *Maitrakás*† who were endowed with incomparable courage, and who had forcibly reduced their enemies to submission;

who had gained the affections of those whom he had conquered by bravery, by means of gifts, honours, and candour;

who has obtained the glory of a king through the power of his devoted army [of three kinds], termed *maula*,‡ [*i.e.* hereditary soldiers], *bhrita* [*i.e.* receiving pay for service done], and *śreṇi* [*i.e.* men employed in *ṭhánás* or posts].

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* Sometimes termed Bhaṭarkka, and Bhaṭárka in other plates.

† Seems to be a race of the later Kshatrapa warriors.

‡ See the *Nítisára*, or the Elements of Polity, by Kámandaka, edited by Bábú Rájendralál-Mitra, Calcutta, 1861, p. 118, "मौलं भृतं श्रेणिसुहृद्विषदाटविकंबलं," ch. xviii., v. 4. This gives six kinds of forces. In other plates *surhidah* or friends are accounted a species of force; that is, the expression runs thus:—"अनुरक्तमौलभृत मित्रश्रेणि" इ०. These terms are also defined in the *Nítimayúkha* of Nílakaṇṭha, whose interpretations I have adopted.

From the unbroken kingly line descending from him [the said Bhaṭṭárka], [came] the great Máheśvara [*i.e.* *Śaiva*] Guhasena,—

who had washed away all sins by submission to the commands of his parents;

whose sword even was his second arm from childhood, and whose strength had been tested in defeating hordes of ruttish elephants of his enemies;

the light of the nails of whose feet commingles with the rays of jewellery set in the diadems of enemies reduced [to submission] by his arms;

who, by truly following the rules of all the *Smṛitis*, and by gladdening the hearts of his subjects, has [in his own person] realized the real meaning of the word Rájá;*

who, by his beauty, his magnificence, his steadiness, his depth, his intellect, and his riches has excelled *Smara*,† the moon,‡ the king of mountains,§ the sea, Jupiter,|| and *Kubera*;¶

possessed of the quality of giving safety or fearlessness to those who submitted to him, he treated his own aims and the results of his own actions [so far as concerned himself] as grass [or as of no consequence];

he who, by bestowing more wealth than was asked for, has gladdened the hearts of the learned, the relatives, the friendly;

who, like the traveller who walks, delights in the expanse of the whole circle of the universe;

the great Máheśvara Śrí Guhasena.

His son [was Śridharasena];

who had washed away all his sins in the rays proceeding from the nails of his [father's] feet—that being (as it were) the flow of the wide Jánhaví;

one whose riches—supporting hundreds of thousands of the friend-

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* The word *Rájá* means one who shines (from *ráj* to shine).

† See *Amarakośa*, bk. I., ch. i., v. 20. The god of love: at Ellora in the great Kailása cave (in the compound wall) the god *Káma* is represented as embracing *Rati*, the goddess of love, and bearing in his hand a bow made of sugarcane.

‡ The moon gladdens people's hearts.

§ Meru, the highest mountain, according to the Puráṇika cosmogony.

|| Bṛihaspati, the preceptor of the gods. He is the god of talent.

¶ The treasurer of the gods: dwells in Kailása, and is represented as the friend of Śiva.

ly—and whose beauty—induced the [*ábhigámika* or] kingly qualities* themselves to approach him [*i.e.* his protection] rapturously;

whose innate strength and acquired education specially astonished all wielders of the bow;

protector of the old *Dharmádáya* [*i.e.* religious] grants of former sovereigns;

the destroyer of evils oppressing [his] subjects;

one showing [in himself] the combination of *Lakshmí* [*i.e.* riches] and *Sarasvatí* [*i.e.* learning];†

whose power in enjoying [or preserving] the wealth gained from enemies overthrown [was] noted;

whose pure kingly wealth was gained by valour;

this was the great Máheśvara Śrídharasena.

His son [was Śrí Śíláditya];

who, worshipping at his [father's] feet, has occupied the whole firmament by the aggregate of remarkable qualities causing joy to the whole world;

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* These आभिगामिक qualities are thus laid down in the *Nítisára* of Kámandaka [Calcutta ed., p. 78]:—

"कुलं सत्वं वयः शीलं दाक्षिण्यं क्षिप्रकारिता । असंविवादिता सत्यं वृद्धसेवा कृतज्ञता ॥६॥
दैवसम्पन्नता बुद्धिरक्षुद्रपरिचारिता । शक्यसामन्तता चैव तथा च दृढभक्तिता ॥ ७ ॥
दीर्घदर्शित्वमुत्साहः शुचिता स्थूललक्ष्यता । विनीतता धार्मिकता गुणाः साध्याभिगा-
मिकाः ॥ ८ ॥"

Ch. iv., vv. 6—8; the gloss at p. 166 runs thus:—

श्लोकत्रयेण अभिगामिकगुणानभिधातुमाह । कुलमिति । 'कुलं' उभयकुलविशुद्धिराभिजात्यं, 'सत्वं' व्यसनेऽभ्युदये चाविकारता, 'वयः' यौवनं, 'शीलं' सुस्वभावता, 'दाक्षिण्यं' सर्वत्र सानुकम्पत्वं, 'क्षिप्रकारिता' अदीर्घसूत्रत्वं '*अविसंवादिता' वाक्छलेन विरुद्धसंवादरहितत्वं, 'सत्यं' अमृषावादः 'वृद्धसेवा' विद्यावृद्धाराधनतत्परता, 'कृतज्ञता' कृतस्य प्रत्युपकारतत्परता। 'दैवसम्पन्नता' यद्यदिच्छति तत् सम्पद्यते यस्य स दैवसम्पन्नस्तस्य भावः, 'बुद्धिः' अष्टगुणा प्रज्ञा, 'अक्षुद्रपरिवारता'† अक्षुद्रजनपरिजनत्वं, 'शक्यसामन्तता' शक्या वशेकर्तुं सामन्ताः संसक्तमण्डलमर्यादाभूम्यन्तरा अरयो यस्य तद्भावः, 'दृढभक्तिता', स्थिरानुरागत्वं, प्रतिपन्ननिर्व्यूढिरित्यर्थः । 'दीर्घदर्शित्वं' दीर्घदेशेन दीर्घकालेन च व्यवहितं प्रज्ञाचक्षुषा द्रष्टुं शीलं यस्य तद्भावः 'उत्साहः' शौर्यादिगुणसंयुक्तता, 'शुचिता' परदारादिनिरीहा, 'स्थूललक्ष्यता' स्थूललक्ष्यादिरथः स्थूलमेव लक्ष्यं संङ्ख्यादिभिः करोति न कृशं स्वल्पं इत्यर्थः, 'विनीतता' विनयः, 'धार्मिकता' धर्मनिष्ठता, एते 'गुणाः', 'साध्याभिगामिकाः' संश्रयणीयत्वकारकाः, अनायासेन बहुभिराश्रिता भवन्तीत्यर्थः ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥

† This is considered an unusual combination.

whose shoulder is beautified by the brilliancy of the sword which has been crowned with success on hundreds of battle-fields ; who bears the great weight of serious [state] projects ;

refined in intellect by a study of all the sciences,* spiritual as well as temporal, and yet capable of receiving pleasure from even a grain of fine talk ;

the seriousness of whose mind is unapproachable by all, and yet whose virtuous conduct clearly discloses a very beneficent disposition ;

who has acquired great fame by an investigation of the ways of all the kings in the *Kṛita* age ;

who, by following the paths of virtue (or *Dharma*) obtained enjoyment of the purest wealth and happiness, and thus gained for himself the truly significant second name *Dharmáditya :* †

[This was] the great Máheśvara Śrí-Śíláditya.

His son (?) [should be his younger brother]‡ the worshipper of his feet ;

whose courage was not shaken by either joy or sorrow, in bearing on his shoulders, as the well-disciplined bullock does carry [the yoke], the much-to-be-coveted kingly wealth with which he was invested § [by his brother who] behaved towards him with the same respect as Indra did towards [his younger brother] Upendra ‖ : for his soul was devoted to simple obedience ;

Although his footstool was covered by the lustre of jewels set in the diadems of hundreds of kings subdued by his prowess, still the bent of his mind was not affected by pride which would hurt the self-respect of others ;

whose enemies, though celebrated, powerful, and proud, had left off all means of opposing him, save the one of submission ;

the collection of whose pure qualities has gladdened the whole world

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* These are laid down as पर and अपर. See also *Muṇḍakopanishada,* Khaṇḍa I. 5 :—

"तत्रापराऋग्वेदो यजुर्व्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्व्ववेदः शिक्षाकल्पो व्याकरणं निरुक्तं छन्दो ज्योतिषमिति । अथ परा यया तदक्षरमधिगम्यते."

Calcutta ed. 1850, pp. 266-69.

† The sun of *Dharma* or virtue.

‡ Other plates give it as अनुज, and it also agrees with the context.

§ The original is *ásaktam,* but it should be read as *asanjitam.*

‖ From this it clearly appears that Śíláditya resigned in his brother's favour, and seated him on the throne during his lifetime ; and he gave his whole wealth to his obedient brother.

who, by his power, has destroyed the entire manifestation of the force of *Kali*;

whose mind was most exalted because it was not tainted by all the sins which occupy the thoughts of the wicked;

whose exceeding bravery and excellence in wielding arms were famous;

who, having obtained the wealth of many opposing kings, had raised himself to the first rank amongst the brave and powerful ancient sovereigns;

this was the great Máheśvara Kharagraha;

his son; who was a worshipper at his feet;

who intensely delighted the hearts of all the learned by acquiring all knowledge;

who, by his power and generosity, when his enemies were off their guard, had broken the axle of the moral and mental chariot of his opponents;

who, although acquainted with the deepest portions of many sciences, arts, and popular annals [or biography], was yet of a very pleasant disposition;

who, being artlessly gentle, whose gentleness became his ornament;

who, by taking the flags after successes on hundreds of battle-fields, has destroyed by his famous arms the rise of pride of all his enemies;

whose command is accepted by the whole circle of kings, whose pride as warriors has been destroyed by his own bow.

This was the great Máheśvara Śrídharasena.

His younger brother; the worshipper at his feet; whose virtues excelled those of all former kings; who by his valour acquired countries which were very hard to obtain;

the very impersonification of manliness;

whose subjects came to him—like Manu—of themselves, being inspired thereto by love for his high qualities, which had filled their hearts;

invested with [knowledge of] all arts and sciences; brilliant, causing comfort, like the moon, and yet whose splendour is not obscured [like that of the moon]: he is like the moon himself;*

whose ample glory has destroyed the vast darkness [of ignorance] in the vast expanse of the heavens like the sun—[unlike whom] he is shining at all times;

* Like other words, this is a figure of speech; thus Kalá means arts, &c. when applied to the king, and phases when used in connection with the moon.

versed in even both the sciences of Polity and Grammar, creating [in reference to Polity] in his subjects the greatest confidence which was full of purpose, which was the source of very many objects, and which was replete with the acquisition of wealth;* skilled [in reference to Polity] in determining upon making peace, war, and encampment; [skilled—the same applied in reference to Grammar—in determining the *Sandhis*, *Vigrahas*, and *Samásas*];

giving [in reference to polity] command [to men] according to rank; [causing—in reference to Grammar—*ádeśas* (grammatical changes) in proper places;] and who has used means to producing increase in the virtue of good people,—who [as applied to Grammar] has tried the modes of producing *guṇa* and *vṛiddhi*];

though of excessive valour, yet having a heart softened by compassion, possessed of learning, but free from pride;

quiet, though handsome; constant in friendship but the giver up of the guilty; with the well-known second name Báláditya (morning-sun) which became significant, because by his rise [*i.e.* birth] the three worlds were cherished (delighted), and with whose radiance [and love] given [support] to the people;

the great *Máheśvara* Śrí Dhruvasena;

his son; whose horned moon-like forehead was marked by a scar caused by its rubbing against the ground when falling at his [father's] lotus-like feet;

whose ears were endowed with holy *Vedas*, graceful like the ornaments of pearls, in his very childhood;—

the ends of whose lotus-like hands were wetted by water accompanying remarkable gifts;

who sustained the amount of gladness of the earth by taking light taxes,† like softly taking the hand of a maiden;

who, like the Dhanurveda [or the science of archery] itself, was skilled in directing his bow to every object which was the object of his aim;

whose command was obeyed like the jewels held at the best part of the body [the head] by a circle of all the suppliant tributary princes;

* The same words being applied in reference to grammar, the clause would stand thus:—"forming words by means of suffixes added on to bases, with *anubandhas* [indicatory letters or syllables marking some peculiarity in the inflexion of a word to which they are attached] that have various objects and are replete with *ágamas* [augments];"

† This is a play upon the word [*kara*], which means a tax as well as a hand.

the paramount power, the great king of kings, the supreme lord, the monarch of the earth, [named] Śrídharasena.

A, Second Plate.

[Then comes Śrí Ḍerabhaṭṭa.]

The son of Śíláditya, the brother of his [Śridharasena's] grandfather, who [Śrí Śíláditya] was like Śárngapáṇí [*i. e.* Vishṇu], who had made obeisance by lowering his limbs through devotion [to Śíláditya];

whose head was always kept shining by the exceedingly fair lustre of the gem-like nails of [his father's] feet, like the most fair Mandákiní [*i.e.* Ganges];

who was a royal sage, like *Agastya,** scattering liberality;

whose circle of richly fair fame graced the horizon [literally the eight directions of the sky], and formed an entire and total halo round the lord of the night [moon] in the heavens;

who was the lord of the earth, whose [*i.e.* earth's] two breasts are the *Sahya* and *Vindhyá* mountains, whose tops clothed in black clouds appear like [her] nipples;

[such was] Derabhaṭṭa.†

His son [was Dhruvasena];

who gave protection to a host of allied kings;

wearing the cloth of their own pure fame, and offering him (like a garland of flowers by a damsel at her own marriage) the sovereignty‡ of their kingdoms;

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* This is a figure founded on the word *dákshiṇya*, which means living in the south, like the sage Agasti, and wisdom or generosity like that of a royal sage.

† The object of thus bringing in Derabhaṭṭa by circumlocution seems to be this:—the main line of kings terminates with Dharasena; and Śiláditya, the brother of Kharagraha and father of Derabhaṭṭa, was not in the direct line of kings, but his son Derabhaṭṭa seems to have been an officer of note, who had probably made excursions or conquests towards the Vindhyá and Sahyádri ranges. But his son, Dhruvasena, again ascends the Walabhí *masnad.* All the copper-plates since the time of this Dhruvasena date from the camp Kheṭaka, and those prior to this Dharasena date from Walabhí. This Kheṭaka is probably the present Kheḍá or Kaira; and it seems to have formed a part of the Walabhí dominions. Since the time of this Dharasena, it seems that the Walabhí kings hereafter lived in Kheṭaka, instead of Walabhí.

‡ The original word for the host of kings is संहति, which being in the feminine gender, the whole figure is founded thereon, and hence the example of *swayamvara*, or giving away in marriage by a damsel of her own person.

who possessed valour which was irresistible, and which he held like a sword, subduing a formidable array of enemies;

who duly effected taking possession of the countries of his enemies, the acquisition of which was made by force in winter [*i.e.* शरद्], by forcibly handling his bow and arrow; *

and who has properly taken the taxes from those countries;

whose ears, which had been already ornamented [by listening to lectures] conveying profound learning, were further beautified with ornaments made of precious stones;

the ends of whose hands bore wristlets beautified by sparkling emeralds, [which looked] as it were made of young moss, luxuriant with the sprinkling of water accompanying uninterrupted gifts;†

who had embraced the earth with arms forming the boundary line of the ocean made up of jewelled bracelets which he wore;

the great Máheśvara—This was Śrí Dhruvasena.

His elder brother [was Kharagraha];

whose body was marked by altogether uumistakable signs by Lakshmi herself in her embrace, as if with the sole object of getting rid of the sin [communicated by] the touch of other—sovereigns;

who had attracted all sovereigns [towards himself] by the greatness of his exceedingly graceful deeds; who had joyfully gained over other kings by his great love [towards them];‡

who has burnt out by his valour the race of all his enemies;

who gave all his wealth [Lakshmí] to the company of his friends [unlike Vishṇu];

who wielded no disease [or distress];

who never left the company of the true sciences;

who played no sports of childhood;

who despised no twice-born;

who won the earth by valour alone;§

who did not sleep among or keep company with the dullards;

who being an extraordinarily excellent person, like Dharma himself, properly regulated the practices of the different orders of the classes of the people;

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* The same countries are compared to beautiful daughters.

† This is a figure of speech: a gift by a Hindu is always confirmed by water poured by the hand of the giver on that of the receiver. And hence the introduction of moss, which grows in watery places.

‡ This is nearly a repetition, and does not occur in B.

 § Many of the adjectives here used are applicable to the god Vishṇu.

whose family was glorified by the standard of his excellent spotless virtue, being lauded and raised by the three worlds, which were much delighted by his freeing and confirming with his highly frank disposition even those grants to gods and Bráhmaṇas which had been spoliated by former kings of the earth, who had been incited by a shade of greed;

who, having duly honoured the gods, the twice-born, and his preceptor, permanently introduced new grants,* was yet unsatisfied, and the series of whose famous deeds filled the cardinal points of the heavens;

this was Kharagraha, the great Máheśvara, whose second name was Dharmáditya, which is but plain and truly significant.

Of his elder brother † [Śíláditya] who enlightened all the regions of the world by his fame, which was just like the light of the moon unfolding the beauty of a host of lotuses;

who was lord of the Earth, whose heavy breasts were the black Vindhya mountains, like a ball of the unguent made of the black powdered aloe;

and whose name was Śrí Śíláditya, whose son was Śrí Śíladityadeva, who was like the new moon, increasing every day his stock of knowledge;

who graced the splendour of royalty, as the young lion graces the mountain forest;

who, like the god *Kártikeya,* ‡ was crowned with a diadem, and who was possessed of formidable power;

who was full of glory, like the sultry *Śarad* season, and whose wealth was in full bloom, like lotuses in the *Śarad* season; §

slaying the cloud-like [big] elephants of his enemies;

who, like the morning sun, destroyed in battles the lives of the enemies in front;

who was a great votary of Śiva, a great monarch, a great lord, and

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* The word in the original is *udranga;* the meaning of this has not yet been properly settled; it seems, however, to be something which accompanied gifts of towns, because in nearly all plates the grants are given along with *udrangas,* and therefore must be some old coin of those days.

† This was also not in the line of kings, and must therefore have been a *subedár* of the country about the Vindhya range.

‡ The words in the original have two senses, one applicable to the king, and the other to the god *Kártikeya.*

§ Here also is a play on words.

the great king of kings devoted to the feet of Śri Báva,* who was a great king, a great lord, and the great king of kings.

His son [was Śiláditya];

who by his prowess in delivering the great world, which was sinking under the weight of the waves of the agitated sea of *Kali*, manifested his being an extraordinarily excellent individual;

who thus was, as it were, a second philosopher's stone, accomplishing the desires of all people;

who, on the occasion of making gifts, treated the earth, bounded by the four seas, as insignificant like grass, and who by his attempts to create other countries [literally, to create another world] made for himself a name like that of another creator;

who made a place for himself in the world, surrounded by a wall of fire of his shining fame, spread by reason of his having destroyed the temples of the enemy's elephants by a stroke of his sword drawn through anger;

whose royal umbrella was hidden by the ceiling of his fame, fair like a ball of froth issuing from the milky ocean by the churning of the *Mandara* mountain, and which [ceiling] was upheld by his mighty arms and spread over the whole extent of earth;

such was Śrí Śíládityadeva, a great votary of Śiva, devoted to the feet of the great king, the mighty lord, the great king of kings, Śrí Bappa;

this was the great monarch, the great lord, and the great king of kings [Śrí Śíládityadeva].

His son [was Śíláditya]; whose lotus-like feet were set and adorned † by the rays issuing from the gems of the crowns of all the tributary princes who lay prostrate [at his feet] by his valour and love;

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* Elsewhere described as बप्प. He seems to be some great teacher of the Śaiva faith, or some remarkable great king of that name, but more probably the former, from the adjectives used. In Paṇḍit Bhagavánlál's collection of Nepál inscriptions of about this time, all the kings are described as worshippers of the feet of Bappa.

बप्प पादानुध्यात: In vol. XI. of the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, pp. 301-306, there is a note on an ancient Hindu grant of the time of Mahárája Śri Vijayanandi Varma, in which this same expression occurs in this modified form:—"स्वस्ति विजय वेङ्गी पुरा द्भगवच्चिनुरस्वामि पादानुध्यातो बप्प भट्टारक पादभक्तः परम भागवत" &c., which confirms our supposition that *Bappa* Bhaṭṭáraka must have been some *dharmáchárya* or sage venerated equally in all parts of Hindustan at that time.

† This seems superfluous.

[this] was Śrí Śíláadityadeva, a great votary of Śiva, devoted to the feet of the great king, the mighty lord, the great king of kings, Śrí Bappa; this was the great monarch, the great lord, and the great king of kings [Śrí Śíláadityadeva];

commands all:

Be it known to you all; each and all thus:—"for the increase of the merit and fame of my father and mother and myself, for the acquisition of the fruit of this and of the next world, is given out of charity by me, confirming the gift by pouring of water, to Bhaṭṭa Vásudeva Bhúti, the son of Bhaṭṭa Dámodara Bhúti, who, leaving Śrí *Vardhamána* * *Bhukti*, † has taken up his residence in Lipti-khaṇḍa;

who is familiar with the four sciences, ‡ of the Gargyas *gotra*, a student of the *Bahvricha Śákhá*;

for the performance of *bali* [*i.e.* worship], *charu* [*i.e.* rice for sacrificial oblations], *vaiśvadeva* [*i.e.* offering to all deities], *agnihotra* [*i.e.* sacrificial libations to the three fires], *kratu* [*i.e.* other sacrifices after the simple sacrifice to the fire], &c., the village of Antarpalliká, near Dinnaputra, in the Suráshṭra country, along with *udranga*, § with all its appurtenant taxes, &c.;

with the *veṭha* [*i.e.* right to exact labour];

along with भूतवात मत्यय; ‖ with the profits in kind and cash [literally gold];

with the jurisdiction to inquire into the (?) ten offences;

[the gift is] not to be interfered with by all government officers;

which was not given before either to gods or Bràhmaṇas; which, on the principle *Bhumichhhidra*, is to continue as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, rivers and mountains last;

which is to be enjoyed by the son, the grandson, and the descendants [of the donee];

therefore, while he, with the due limits of the rules of charitable gifts, enjoys it, ploughs it, or causes it to be ploughed, or parts with it, he

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* Probably Waḍhawáṇa. † Táluká (?)

‡ The four Vedas. There is a section among the Moda Bráhmaṇas termed Chaturvedi, now corrupted to Chácharvedi.

§ See note*, p. 356.

‖ As yet untranslatable: the expression occurs in various shapes, thus: संभूतोगात्तमत्यय: सभूतवातमत्याय:, सवातिभूतमत्याय:, sometimes we have मत्यय: instead of मत्याय:'

should not be obstructed by any; either the future blessed kings or our heirs, or others, knowing that wealth is unsteady, human life is transitory, and that the reward of the gift of land is common [to all kings], this our gift should be acquiesced in and protected. It is said—The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, beginning with *Sagara;* when it is the territory of any one, the fruit [of gift] belongs to him.

What good person will possibly retake the wealth which is made the abode of charity by kings, from fear of poverty, which [wealth] is considered like *nirmálya* [*i. e.* flowers devoted to gods] or a thing vomited?

The grantor of land lives in heaven for sixty thousand years; its depriver, and the ratifier of such deprivation, shall dwell those years [sixty thousand] in hell. This [gift] is by the humble Agent [termed Dútaka] Śíláditya.

This is written by Śrí Gillaka, commander of the army, and son of Śri Buddha Bhaṭa. Saṁvat 403, Mágha Vadya 12.

My own hand.

Explanatory Note to Goṇḍala Copper-plate Grant B.

(*A*) In grant A, *line* 9, the passage is संहतारातिपक्षसमुत्क्षिप्तलक्ष्मीपरिभोग-दक्षविक्रमः, whereas in this it runs thus: संहतारातिपक्षलक्ष्मीपरिभोगदक्षविक्रमः I think this reads better, and is thus translated: "whose power in enjoying [or preserving] the wealth of his overthrown enemies."

(*B*) *Line* 11. In grant A there is सचरितातिशयितसुव्यक्तपरमकल्याणस्वभावः whereas in B the passage is सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरमकल्याणस्वभावः And this seems to be better than the other, and may be rendered thus:—"The excess of whose good deeds have made quite clear his very benevolent disposition."

(*C*) In A (*lines* 12 *and* 13) occur the words धर्मादित्यापरनाम, while in B the words are धर्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा. Both expressions, however, bear the same meaning [see translation].

(*D*) *Line* 21. The word ध्रुवसेन is clearly an error; for the same king in A is धरसेन, and that he is धरसेन, and not ध्रुवसेन, appears clearly from other copper-plates.

(*E*) *Line* 21. In A the corresponding passage runs thus: "सचरितातिशयितसकलपूर्वनरपतिः" whereas in B it is "सर्वविद्याधिगम[ातिशयित] सकलपूर्वनरपतिः" which means, "who excels all former kings by the acquisition of all the sciences." In the above passage I have added [तिशयित], as it makes the sense more complete.

(*F*) *Lines* 27 *and* 28. In B, after the words धरागिकरण comes अनित, which does not occur in A, but the sense of both passages is exactly the same.

(*G*) *Line* 29. In B, after the words भृङ्कारभङ्गादमन्दीकृतानन्द there is an evident omission of विधिर्वसुंधराया: which occur in A. For without this addition there can be no comparison, and the sense would be incomplete. The meaning is that by the taking of light taxes he gladdened the earth; but, to bring this out, the words विधिर्वसुंधराया: must be inserted.

(*H*) *Line* 8. In B the words are परिकलितसकलनरपति: प्रसर्पत्पटीय: while in A the corresponding passage runs thus:— "परिकलितसकलनरपतिनकृष्टानुरागसरभसवशीकृतनृपति:" Therefore प्रसर्पत्पटीय:, meaning—"extended and very powerful" glory, &c., is an addition to B.

(*I*) *Line* 9. In B the word अपूर्वपुरुषोत्तम: occurs; whereas in A we have अपूर्वपुरुषोत्तमतया; that is, in A we have the attribute, and in B the person.

Walabhí Copper-plate Grant from Walé, in Káthiawáḍa.

Transcript.

Note.—What is put in parentheses, thus ( ), is corroded, either totally or partially, in the original. The parts marked in brackets, thus [ ], are supplied to correct some evident error or omission. The letters underlined occur in the plates, and the corresponding letters on the margin are the corrections. The rest of the marginal notes need no explanation. The Arabic numerals in brackets [1] are supplied to mark the lines on the plates.

[1] ॐ स्वस्ति वलभीतः प्रसभप्रणतामित्रा[णां मैत्रकाणाम]तुलबलसम्पन्नमण्डलाभोगसंसक्तप्रहारशतलब्धप्रतापात्प्रतापो-

[2] पनतदानमानार्जव[1]पा[र्जिता] नुरागादनुरक्तमौलभृतश्रे [णिबला] वाप्तराज्यश्रियः परममाहेश्वरश्रीभटार्कादि-

[3] व्यवच्छिन्नराजवंशान्माता[पि]तृचरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधौताशेषकल्मषः शैशवात्प्रभृतिख[ड्गद्वि]तीयबाहुरेव समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्वनिकषस्तत्प्रभावप्रणताराति चूडार[त्न]प्रभासंसक्तपादनखरश्मि-

[4] सं[2]हृतिः सकलस्मृतिप्रणीतमार्गसम्यक्परिपालनप्रजाहृदयरञ्जनान्वर्थितराजशब्दः रूपकान्तिस्थैर्य[3]धैर्य-

[5] गांभीर्यबुद्धिसम्पद्भिः स्मरशा[4]ङ्काद्रिराजोदधि[5]तृदशगुरुधनेशानतिशयानः शर[णा]गताभयप्रदान-

[6] परतया तृणवदपास्ताशेषस्वकार्य्यफल[:]प्रार्थनाधिकार्थप्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सु[हृ]त्प्रणयिहृदयः पाद-

[7] चारीव सकलभुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसन्तान-

[8] विसृतजान्हवीजलौघप्रक्षालिताशेषकल्मषः प्रणयिशतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसम्पद्रूपलोभादिवाश्रितः

[9] सरभसमाभिगामिकैर्गुणैस्सहजशक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविस्मापिताखिल[6]बलधनुर्धरः प्रथमनरपतिसमति[7]स्र-

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(1) वो. (2) संहतिः. (3) This word means bravery; but it seems to be evidently out of place, and does not occur in A. (4) शशाङ्का. (5) त्रि.

(6) बल is an addition to A, which means powerful. (7) सृ.

[10] ष्टानामनुपालयिता धर्मदायानामपाकर्त्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणामुपप्ल-
वानां दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेका-

[11] धिवासस्य [8]संघताराातिपक्षलक्ष्मीपरिभोगदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोपसम्प्रा-
प्तविमलपार्थिवश्रीः परममाहेश्व-

[12] रः **श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य** सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यातसकलजगदानन्दनात्यद्भु-
तगुणसमुदयस्थगितसमग्र[दिङ्मण्ड]

[13] लस्समरशतविजयशोभासनाथमण्डलाग्रद्युति[9]भासुरतरा[10]सपीठोदूढ
गुरुमनोरथमहाभरस्सर्व

[14] विद्यापरावरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्व्वतस्सुभाषितलवेनापि
सुखोपपादनीयपरितोषः [स]

[15] मग्रलोकागाधगांम्भीर्य्यह्रदयपि[11]सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरमकल्याणस्व-
भावः [12]खिलीभूतकृतयुगनृ-

[16] पतिपथविशोधनाधिगतोदग्रकीर्तिर्द्धर्म्मानुपरोधो ज्वलतरीकृतार्थसुख-
सम्पदुपसे[वानिरूढ] [13]* * दित्य-

[17] द्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः **श्रीशिलादित्यः** कुशलीसर्व्वानेवायु-
क्तकांविनि [14]* * * * *

[18] [म]हत्तरचाटभटकुमारामात्यादीनन्यांश्च यथासम्बध्यमानकान्स-
[15]माज्ञाप * * * * * *

[19] विदितं यथा मया [मातापित्रो]ः पुण्याप्यायनाय वलभीपरि-
[16][सरे] * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

([8]) संहता. ([9]) भासुरतरांस In this तर is an addition to A, and means more.
([10]) In A the reading is व्यूढ; here it is दूढ, which forms one compound meaning—who has borne on his shoulders the weight of serious projects.
([11]) योपि. ([12]) In A, instead of खिलीभूत, निखिल इ० exists. The present passage runs thus: "or who has acquired great fame by discovering the deserted paths of the *Krita* age." ([13]) The two intervening letters between ढ and दि, धर्मा, are corroded. ([14]) Eight letters after नि are lost. ([15]) Six letters after प are lost. ([16]) The line after रे is altogether lost.

Second Plate.

[1] भिक्षुसङ्घा[य]पिण्डपातशयनासनग्लानप्रत्ययभैषज्यपरिष्कारार्थे बुद्धाना [ञ्चभग]

[2] वतां गन्ध— [पु]ष्पमाल्यदीपतैलाद्युपयोगार्थं विहारस्य च खण्डस्फुटितप्रतित[17] [संस्का]

[3] राय द[18]——— **पण्डरकूपिकापुण्यानकस्थल्यंतर्गतउच्चापद्रके**-कुटुंबि**सूर्यक**प्रत्ययक्षेत्रं त [था]

[कल] *[19]—प्रत्ययक्षेत्रं तथा **काकिंज्जग्रामे अर्धक**प्रत्ययवापी तथा**कुंभार**-प्रत्ययवापी तथेन्द्राणिपद्रके-

[5] [**ईश्व** (?)] रप्रत्ययक्षेत्रं तथा **वलभी**स्थितलसीम्नि पुष्पवाटिकाकूपकचतुष्टयमेवमयं क्षेत्रत्रयवापि-

[6] द्वयपुष्पवाटिकाकूपकचतुष्टयसमेतो ग्रामस्सोद्रङ्गः स्सपरिकरसवातभूतप्रत्यायः सधान्याहिरण्या-

[7] देयस्सदशापराधस्सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिः सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः पूर्व्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदेय-

[8] वार्जितः भूमिछिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्कार्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्वतसमकालीनो व्यवच्छित्तिभोग्यः धर्म्मदायत-

[9] या प्रतिपादितः यत उचितया देवाग्रहारस्थित्या भुज्यम[ा]नकः न कैश्चित्परिपन्थनीयः आगा-

[10] मिभद्रनृपतिभिरप्यस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैर्वा अनित्यान्यैश्वर्याण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं सामान्यञ्च भूमिदानफलम-

[11] वगच्छद्भिरयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्चेति [॥] बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादि-

[12] भिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं [॥१॥] यानीह दारिद्र्यभयान्नरेन्द्रैर्द्धनानि धर्म्मायतनी-

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([17]) प्र. ([18]) Three letters lost. ([19]) Letter lost.

[13] कृतानि [।।] निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि[20] को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत [।।२।।] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मो-

[14] देत भूमिदः [।।। आच्छेत्ता चानुमंता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [।।] दूतकश्चात्र**भट्टादित्ययशाः** लिखितं

[15] सन्धिविग्रहाधिकृत**दिवीरपतिचन्द्रभट्टिना** सं. २८६ ज्येष्ठ ब ६

[16] स्वहस्तो मम.

Note on a Walabhí Copper-plate Grant from Walé, in Káṭhiáwáḍa.

Instead of a translation of the whole plate, which would, to a great extent, be a repetition of what comes in the translation of A (see pp. 16 to 27)—for in these plates the adjectives applied to the different kings are, excepting some slight verbal changes, almost precisely the same—I propose to give below only those parts where this plate differs from the others, and also those where additional information, such as concerning the subject of the new grant, the grantee, &c. &c., is to be obtained, or further explanations appear to be necessary. Thus, in this plate, we have a Bhaṭarkka [Bhaṭṭarka]; and in his line we have Guhasena, his son Dharasena, his son Śíláditya, otherwise called Dharmáditya. Their description in this plate is the same as in A, to which I beg to refer.

In the beginning of the plate, in line 1, the word *Walabhitáh, i.e.* "from Walabhí," shows that this plate is from that city, and not from Kheṭaka, from which subsequently copper-plate grants (like Goṇḍala A and B, see pp. 335 to 346) have been issued.

After this, up to line 17, first plate, the adjectives are similar to those in A, and any verbal differences are given in the marginal notes to the transcript. The following is a translation of the part from and after the words Śrí Śíláditya in line 17, first plate :—

"The great votary of Śiva, the prosperous Śrí Śíláditya, commands each and all, [such as] the *Ayuktakas*,* the *Viniyuktakas*,* *Mahat-*

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[20]) In A and B this phrase runs thus:—निर्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि. Thus in A and B we have flowers used up and matter vomited, while here we have the used-up flowers only.

* Some village officers (?).

*tara,** the *Chátabhatakas,*† the *Kumáras* (*i.e.* princes), ministers, &c.; and to others in their respective offices [commands]. Be it known to you all:—

Thus: For the increase of my parents' merits, in the environs of Walabhí, for multitudes of *Bhikshus,* for giving them food, for their sleeping, sitting; for serving the sick and giving them medicinal materials; for giving perfumes, garlands of flowers, oil for lamps, &c. to the revered images of Buddha, and for repairing the broken parts of the *Vihára* (*i.e.* monastery), [is given] by me the village Pandarakupitá, a field situate in Uchchapadra, in the Pushyánakasthalí, held by the cultivator Súryaka; also the field held by Kala* * * [letters lost]; so also in Karkajja village a *Wápi* [a measure of land watered by one well] held by Ardhaka; and also the *Wápi* held by one Kumbhára; so also the field situated in Indráṇí Padraka held by .... ra; also, a *pushpavaṭika* [*i.e.* flower-garden] and four wells on the very borders of Walabhí. Thus the village, together with the three fields, the two *Wápis,* the *pushpavá-ṭiká,* and the four wells, [is given] with *udranga;* with all its appurtenant taxes, &c.; with भूतवातप्रत्यय; with the profits in kind and cash [literally gold]; with the jurisdiction to inquire into the ten offences; with the *veṭha* [*i.e.* right to exact labour]; [which] is not to be interfered with by all government officers.

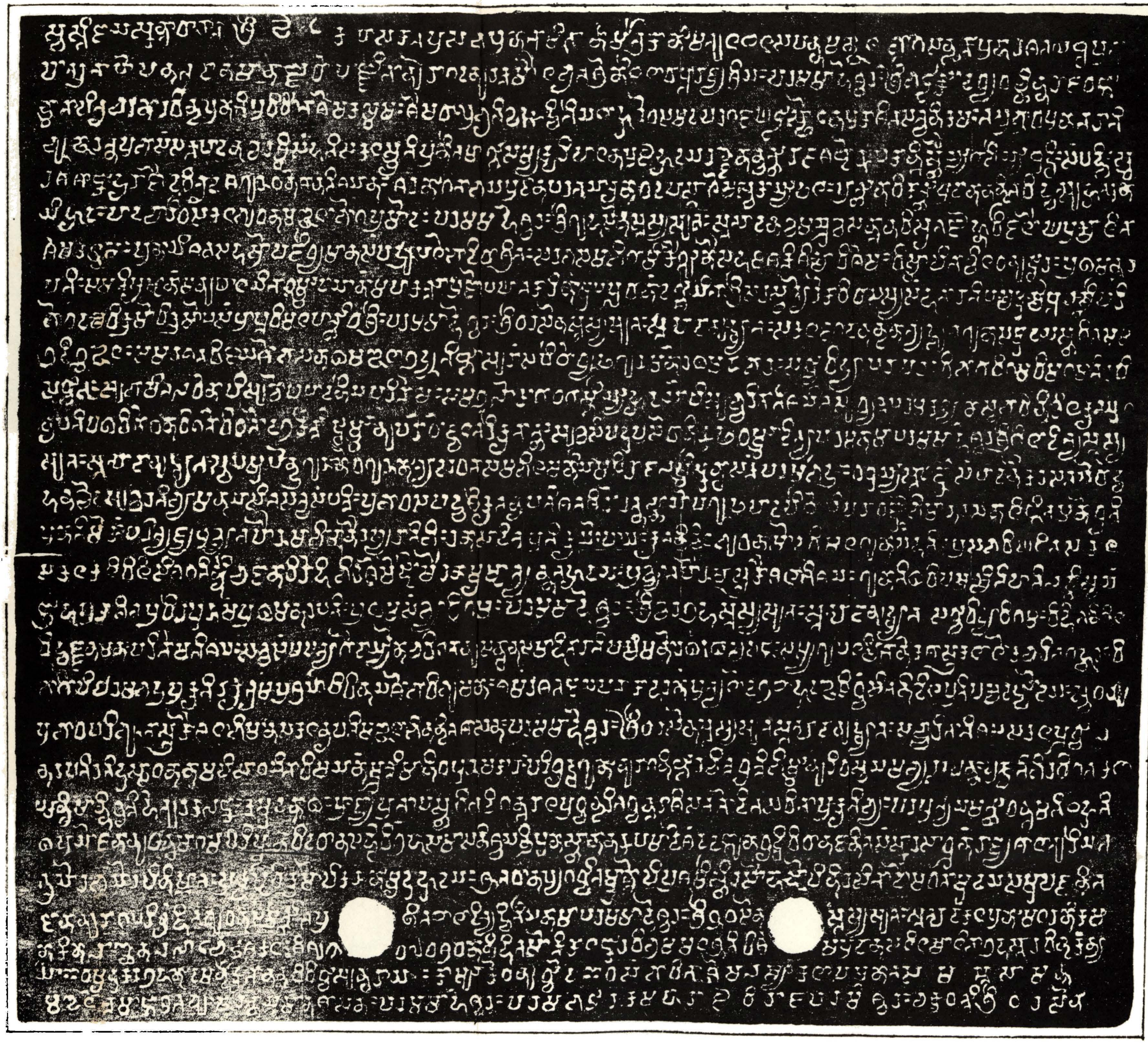
From पूर्व्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदेय, &c., in line 7, second plate, to तान्येव नरके वसेत्, in line 14 of the same plate, the passage is the same as in A and B, and is therefore omitted. After वसेत् in line 14, second plate, the grant proceeds thus:—

" Here the Dútaka (agent ?) [is] Bhaṭṭáditya-yaśáhs; this is written by *Divirapati* Chandrabhúti, the negotiator of peace and war; Saṁvat 286, Jyeshṭha Vadya [dark half] 6th. This is my hand."

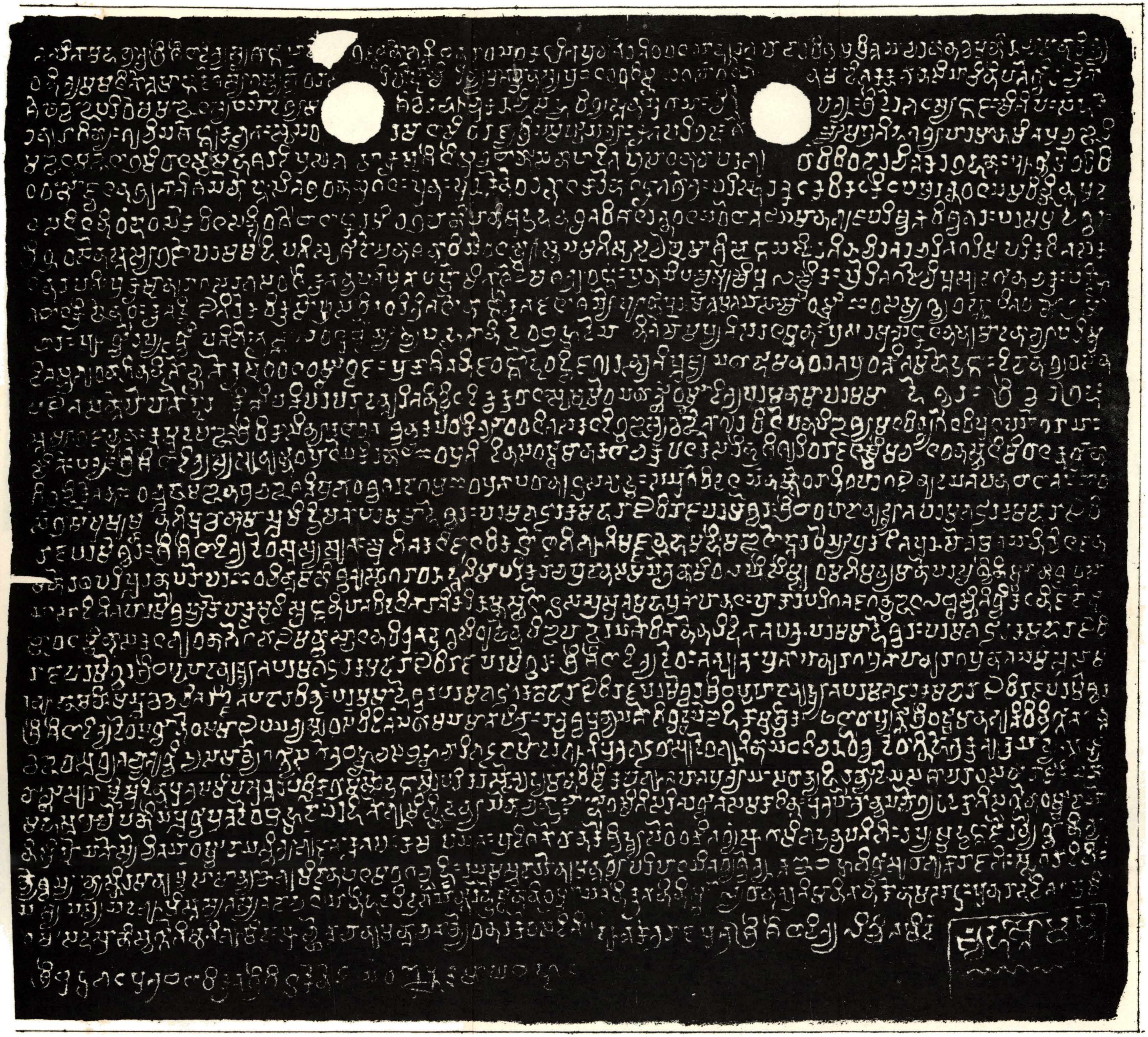
* An officer in charge of a large division, or táluká (?).

† Police officers.

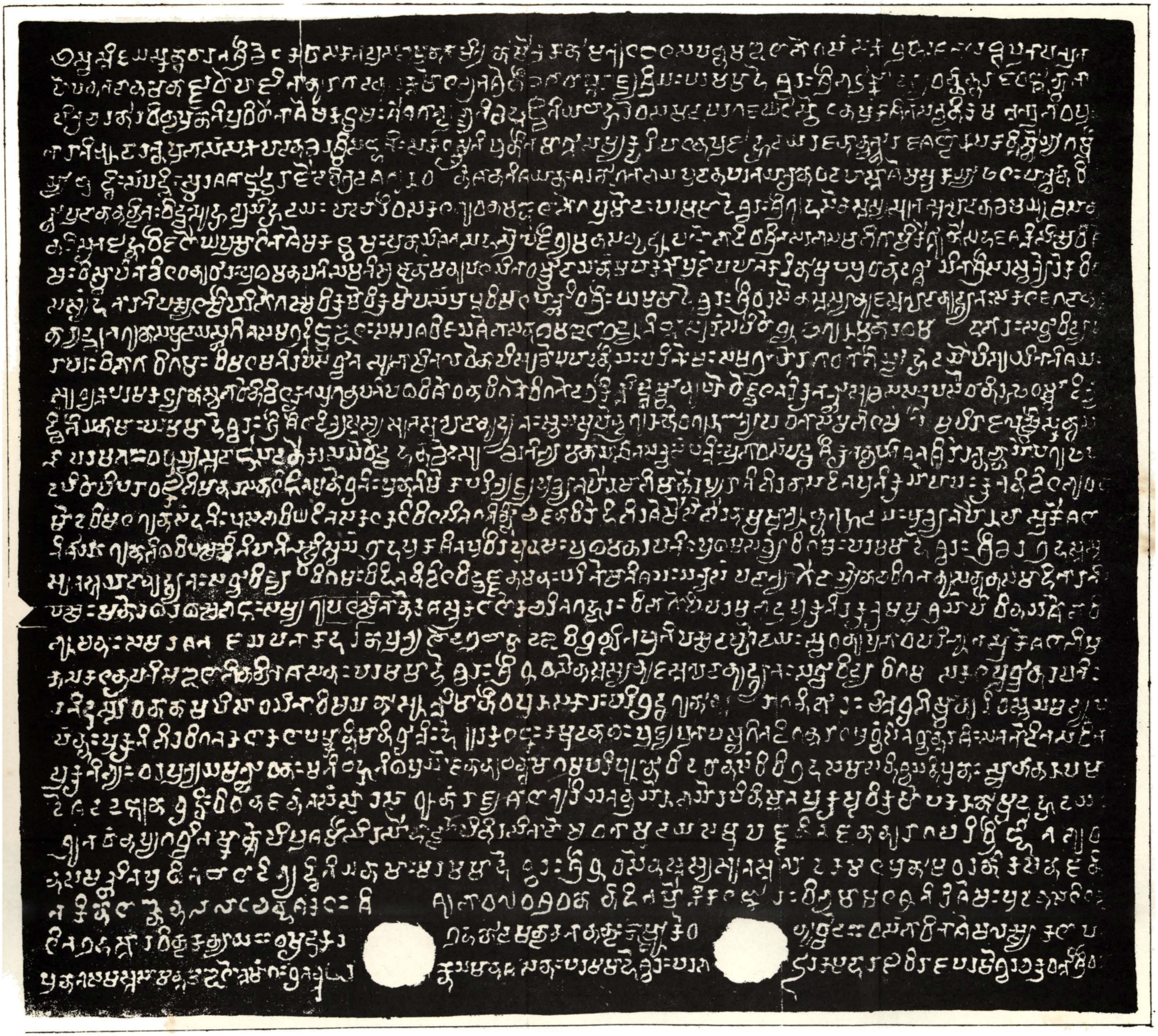
IV



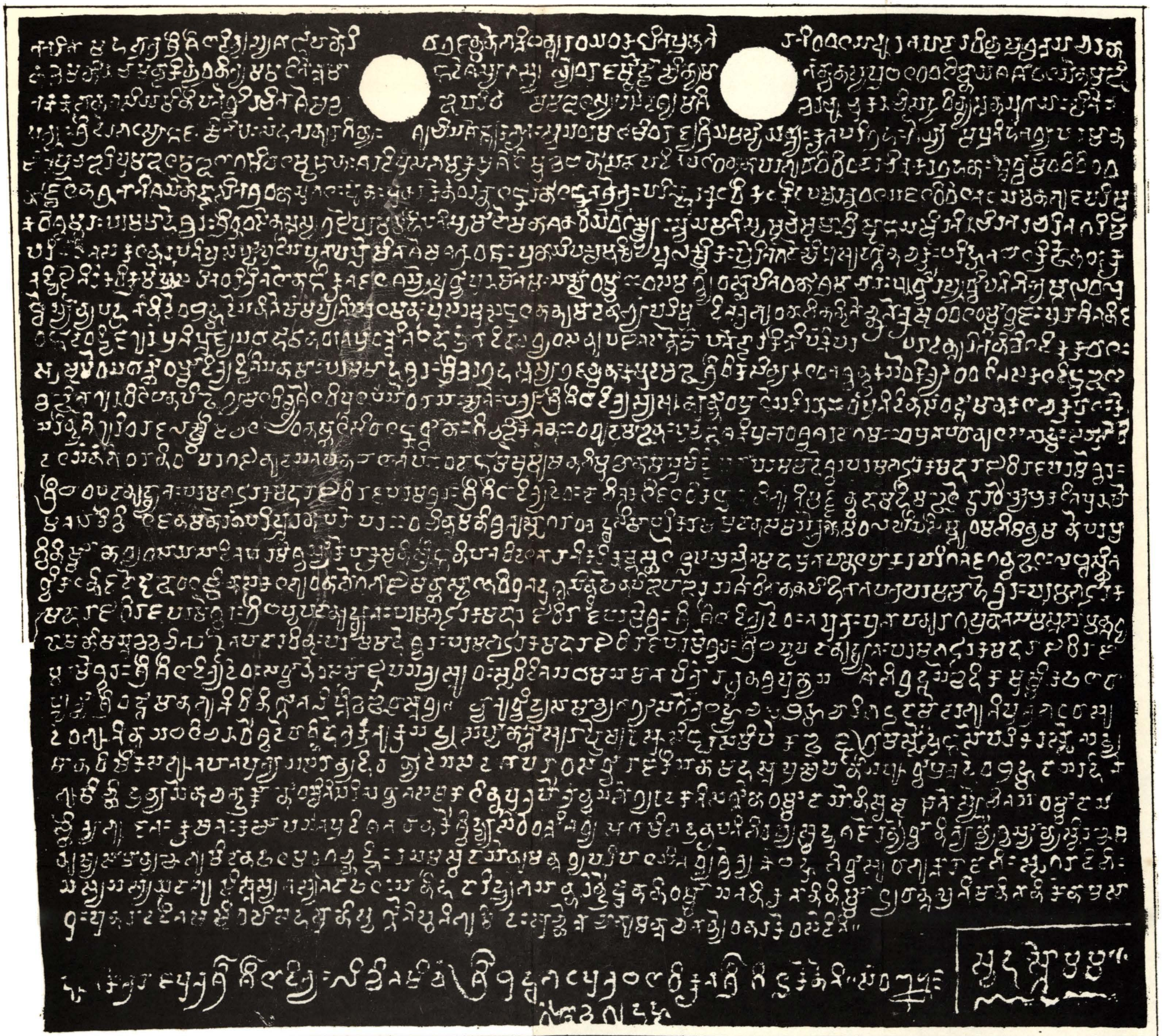
A 2



B 1

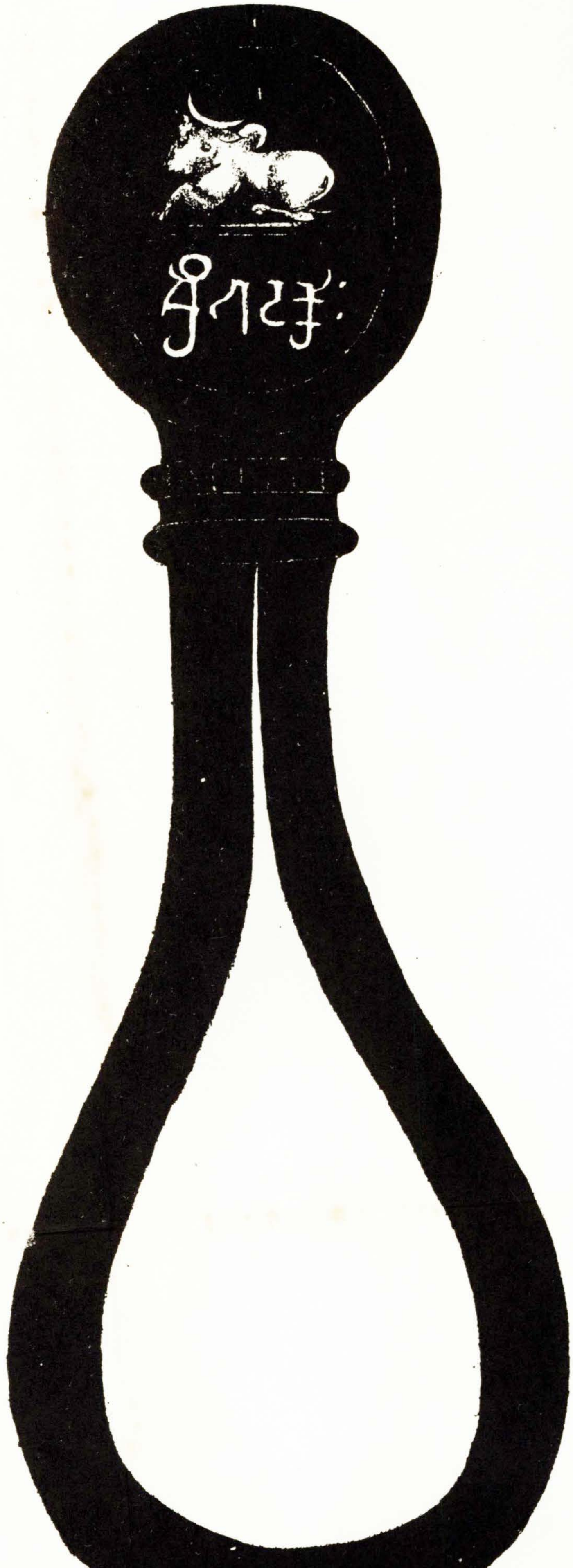


B 2

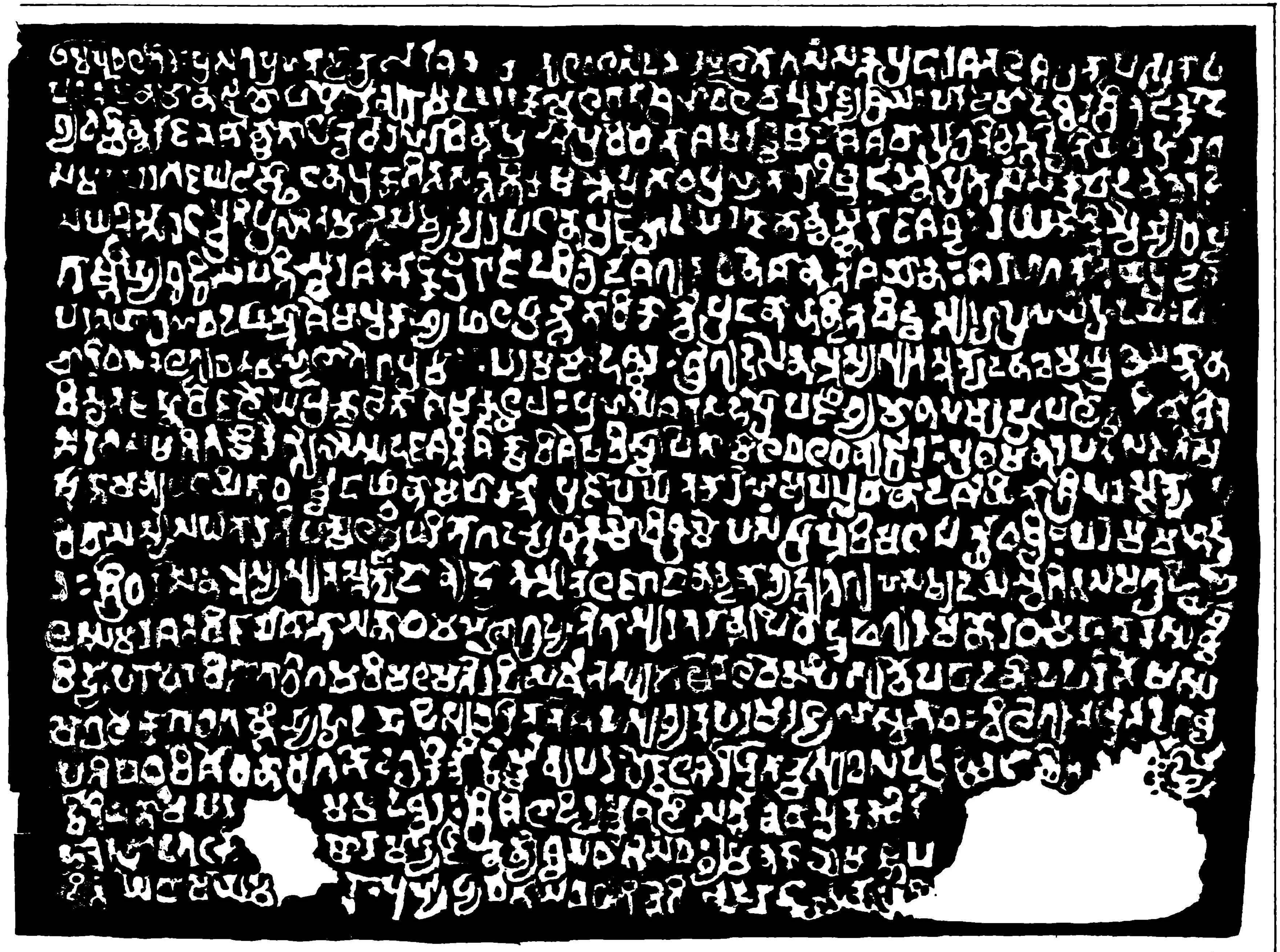


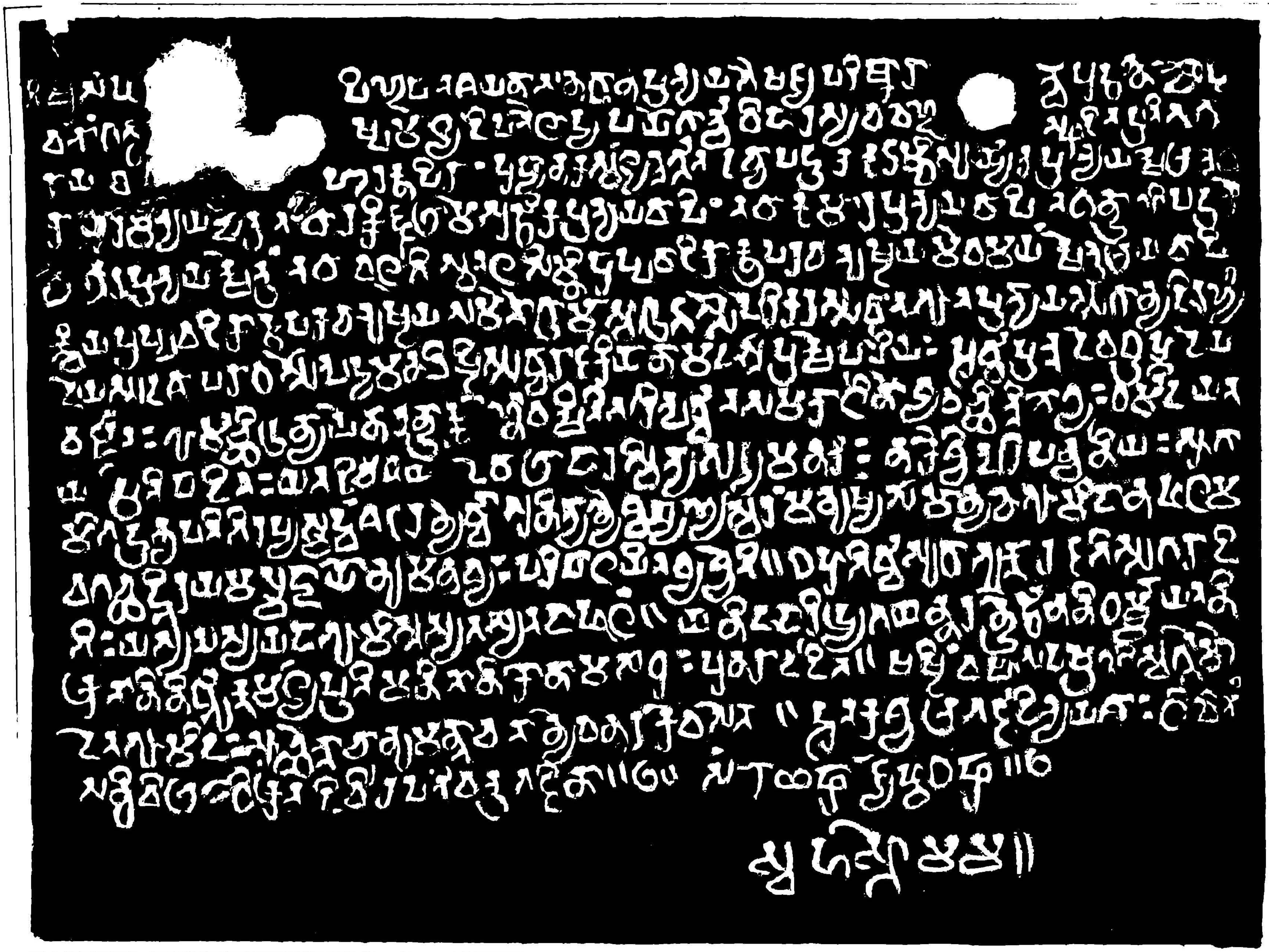
B Seal

A Seal



C 1





PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

[January to June 1875.]

At a Monthly Meeting of the Society held on January 9th, 1875:—

The Honourable J. Gibbs, *President*, in the Chair.

Elections:—Mr. Christopher B. Lynch was elected a Member of the Society.

A paper was read by Mr. Rehatsek on "The Subjugation of Persia by the Arabs, and the extinction of the Sassanian Dynasty."

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Rehatsek for his paper.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held at the Society's Rooms, Town Hall, on Saturday the 23rd January 1875, at 5 p.m.

The Honourable Mr. Justice West, V.P., in the Chair.

The following report was read by the Honourable Ráo Sáheb V. N. Mandlik, V.P. and Joint Secretary:—

Members.—During the past year, 30 Resident and 4 Non-Resident Members were elected, against 8 Resident Members elected in 1873; 5 Members have withdrawn in 1874, and 6 have died: so that there remain on the roll 173 Members, of whom 12 are in Europe.

Life-Members.—Five Members have compounded for their subscriptions and become Life-Members, under Article 16 of the Society's Rules and Regulations.

Geographical Section.—There are 24 Members on the Geographical Section of the Society—6 Resident and 18 Non-Resident.

Obituary.—Six Resident Members died in 1874:—

(1) Mr. James Taylor, the late Honorary Secretary of the Society, was elected a Member in 1863. He served on the Managing Committee for more than nine years, and of these he acted as Honorary Secretary for six years. He had also acted as Secretary for a few months in 1866, during the absence of Dr. Birdwood. He died in April 1874, and the following resolution was passed at a Monthly Meeting of the Society in June 1874:—

"This Society desire to put on record their deep regret at the loss of the late James Taylor, Esq., who for many years so zealously and ably discharged the duties of their Honorary Secretary."

(2) Dr. Bháu Dáji died in May 1874. He was a Member of the Committee of Management from 1859 to 1864, and a Vice-President from 1865 to 1873, when he was elected an Honorary Vice-President of the Society, on his retirement from the Committee. He wrote seventeen papers for the Society's Journal, and was an Honorary Member of the parent Society. The Rev. Dr. Wilson, in proposing him as Vice-President in 1864, spoke as follows:—

"Dr. Wilson begged to propose Dr. Bháu Dáji as a Vice-President of the Society in the room of Mr. Justice Newton, now called to the Chair. It was with much satisfaction that he made this proposition. He had been one of the first advocates of the admission of native gentlemen and scholars into the Society, under the persuasion that they would most materially and effectively contribute to advance its interests. Facts had amply confirmed his anticipations in this matter. The late Professor Bál Gaṅgádhár Śástri, so early removed from this earthly scene, and Dr. Bháu Dáji, in particular, had indeed proved conspicuous ornaments of the Society. The learned doctor had already a European as well as an Indian reputation; and he had both the desire and the means of contributing much to the Society's progress. Well did he merit the honour which it was hoped would now be unanimously accorded to him."

These anticipations were more than realized, and it is hoped that other Native Members will be stimulated to follow in Dr. Bháu's footsteps, and carry on their labours in the fields of original literary and scientific investigation.

(3) Mr. John Connon was elected in 1864, and died on 28th May 1874.

(4) Mr. Náráyan Vásudevji was elected in 1865, and died on 5th August 1874.

(5) Mr. Bháskar Dámodar was elected in 1871, and died in December 1874.

(6) Dr. A. V. Ward was elected in 1872, and died in December 1874.

Honorary Members.—Three Honorary Members were elected during the year, under Clause 5 of the Rules and Regulations of the Society:—

viz. Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I. (England); Edward Rehatsek, M.C.E. (Bombay); M. C. Commendatore Negri, President of the Geographical Society of Italy.

Subscribers.—13 Subscribers have been admitted during the past year, under Clause 31 of the Revised Rules.

Library.—During the year under review 319 works in 679 volumes were bought by the Society, against 419 works in 562 volumes purchased in 1872-73.

Periodicals.—The Papers and Periodicals taken by the Society are as follows:—

Literary 16; Illustrated 15; Scientific Reviews 7; European Newspapers 16; Registers, Army Lists, and Directories 16; French Literary and Scientific Periodicals 5; American Literary and Scientific Periodicals 3; American Newspapers 1; German Literary and Scientific Periodicals 4; Indian Newspapers 21; Indian Journals, Reviews, &c. 22; Australian Newspapers 1: being a total of 106 Literary and Scientific Periodicals and 39 Newspapers, or in all 145. Of the former 34 are exchanged in return for the Society's Journal.

Presents to the Library.—79 works in 122 volumes and 13 pamphlets were presented to the Society during the year, chiefly by the Governments of India, Bengal, Madras, and Bombay; the Asiatic Society of Bengal; the Royal Astronomical Society; the Smithsonian Institute, Washington; the Boston Society of Natural History, and other persons and institutions, as detailed in the Proceedings appended to Vol. X. of the Society's Journal.

The following papers were read during the year:—

Original Communications.

Exposition of twelve Hemyaritic Inscriptions, with Facsimiles, by E. Rehatsek, M.C.E.

2. Explanations of eight Arabic Talismanic Medicine-Cups, with Facsimiles, by E. Rehatsek, M.C.E.

3. Further Notes on the Age of Śriharsha, the author of the *Naishadhiya*, by Dr. G. Bühler.

4. On Exorcisms, Amulets, Recipes, Geomancy, &c., by E. Rehatsek, M.C.F

5. Notes on the History and Antiquities of the Island of Bassein, by J. Gerson da Cunha, M.R.C.S.

6. A New Chálukya Copper-plate, dated Śaka 532, with Remarks, by Káshináth Trimbak Telang, M.A., LL.B.

7. 156 Facsimiles, 140 of which represent Muhammadan, Hindu, Bactrian, Roman, Byzantine, &c. Coins, and 16 Muhammadan, Syrian, and other Gems, by E. Rehatsek, M.C.E.

8. A Note on the Age of Madhusúdana Sarasvatí, by Káshináth Trimbak Telang, M.A., LL.B.

The Society's Journal.—Since June last, Nos. 29 and 30 of the Society's Journal have been printed, No. 29 has been distributed, and No. 30, together with an Index to Vol. X., will be in the hands of the Members in the course of the next two weeks. These will complete the tenth volume of the Journal. It is proposed to commence a new volume in the current year, so as, if possible, to publish during the year all the papers read within that year.

The Catalogue.—At the death of Mr. Taylor, letters A and B of the first Part were ready, set up in type. Since then the remainder of Part I. and the whole of Part II. have been carried through the press; and the complete Catalogue up to the end of 1873 is placed before the Meeting on this day.

Finance.—Annexed is an Abstract Statement and Auditors' Report of the Society's funds, showing a balance of Rs. 8,111-9-7 in favour of the Society. There are, besides, the following sums belonging to the Geographical Section :—

The Premchund Roychund Donation (deposited in the Chartered Mercantile Bank of India, London, and China)	Rs.	2,721	6	0
Bhugwandas Purshottamdas Donation (deposited in the same bank)	,,	617	13	0

Effect of the Reduction of Subscriptions on the Receipts.—The amount realized during the year by subscriptions of Resident Members and Subscribers was Rs. 10,902-8-0; during 1873 it was, as well as can be made out from the somewhat imperfect accounts, Rs. 14,090, the difference in favour of the year under the higher rate being Rs. 3,187-8-0,—in other words, the reduction in receipts for this year nearly corresponds to the rate of reduction made in the amount of subscriptions, *i.e.* 25 per cent.

It was then proposed by the Rev. Dr. Wilson, F.R.S., *Honorary President* of the Society, and seconded by the Rev. J. S. S. Robertson —"That the Report now read be adopted, and that the best thanks of the Society be presented to the Office-bearers of the Society for their valuable services during the past year." This motion was carried unanimously.

The Rev. Dr. Wilson then submitted the following motion, commemorative of Dr. Bháu:—

"The Society in again adverting to the death of Dr. Bháu Dáji, their honoured Vice-President, which occurred on the 29th of May last, cannot but anew express their appreciative and tender regard for his memory, founded on his high character, distinguished talents and acquisitions, and his consecration of them to objects of public utility, not only as connected with his own profession as a medical practitioner, but as bearing on general literature and science, especially on the antiquities, civil and religious history, authorship, and productive resources of India in all its extent. They gratefully recall to remembrance the effective assistance which he rendered to the instruction and education of his countrymen as an assistant-professor in the Grant Medical College; as the author of a Prize-essay dehortative of the unnatural crime of Infanticide prevalent among the Jáḍejás of Káṭhiáwáḍ and Kachh; as a Member of the late Government Board of Education; as a personal advocate and early supporter of Indian Female Education; as a constant attendant at social meetings for the enlightenment and improvement of students; as a frequent public lecturer in the Town Hall of Bombay and other localities; as one of the Fellows of the University of Bombay mentioned in the Act of Incorporation, a member of two of its faculties, and of late years one of its Syndics; and as one of the originators of our public Museum. They recognize his genuine philanthopy in fearlessly supporting the cause of truth and purity on the occasion of the prosecution in the Supreme Court, in 1864, of a public journalist for his exposure of the immoral tenets and practices of the professed heads of a sect denominating themselves the followers of Vallabhácharya; and in his long-continued and expensive exertions to mitigate and remove human suffering, especially in connexion with the dreadful disease of leprosy, by which so many in this land have, for ages, been grievously afflicted.

"In adverting to the special obligations of this Society to Dr. Bháu Dáji, they feel called upon to insert in this place the titles of his

learned and most valuable contributions to the Society, which appear in the various numbers of its Journals :—

"On the Identification of the poet Kálidása with Mátrigupta of Káshmír.—*Journal*, No. xxi.

"Ajaṇṭá Inscriptions (with a Plan and Lithographs of 27 Inscriptions, and their corresponding transcripts in Devanágarí characters. —*Journal*, No. xxii.

"Facsimiles, Transcript, and Translation of the Sáh or Rudra Dáma Inscription on a rock at Junágaḍh ; also of one of Skanda Gupta on the northern face of the rock ; with some brief remarks on the Sáh, Gupta, and Valabhí Dynasties (with 2 lithographed sheets of Facsimiles).

"The Ancient Sanskṛit Numerals in the Cave Inscriptions, and on the Sáh Coins, correctly made out ; with Remarks on the Era of Śáliváhana and Vikramáditya.

"Facsimile, Transcript, and Translation, with Remarks, of an Inscription on a Stone Pillar at Jusdun, in Káṭhiáwáḍ.—*Journal*, No. xxiv.

"A Brief Survey of Indian Chronology from the First Century of the Christian Era to the Twelfth.—*Ib*.

"Facsimile, Transcript, and Translation of an Inscription discovered by Mr. G. W. Terry in the Temple of Amranátha, near Kalyáṇ ; with Remarks.—*Journal*, No. xxvi.

"Brief Notes on Hemáchandra or Hemácharya.—*Ib*.

"Brief Notes on Mádhava and Sáyana.—*Ib*.

"Report on Photographic Copies of Inscriptions in Dhárwáḍ and Mysore.—*Journal*, No. xxvii.

"Discovery of complete manuscript copies of Báṇa's *Harsha-Charita*, with an analysis of the more important portions.

"Transcript and Translation of King Rudra Deva's Inscription at Anamkonda.

"Revised Translation of the Inscription on the Bhítari Láṭ.

"Revised Inscription on the Delhi Iron (Metal) Pillar of the Kootub Minár.

"The preparation of these important papers required not only much and varied study by their distinguished author, but much personal travel and close observation. He had to pay large sums to a copyist

ho knew the Cave-character, in remuneration for his services in making ·anscripts and copies. In order to keep himself abreast of the progress f Oriental research on the Continent of Europe he had not unfre- uently to procure translations from the German.

"Many testimonies have been given to Dr. Bháu's learning, worth, and hilanthropy since his decease, as by the public press in India, European nd Native; by the inhabitants of Bombay, assembled in the Town Hall y the Sheriff; by the Senate of the University of Bombay, and by its /ice-Chancellor at the late Convocation for granting Degrees. From hese testimonies some passages may here with propriety be intro- luced, as illustrative both of his early studies and his remarkable career n after-life, especially from the proceedings on the occasion of the neeting of the citizens of Bombay, when it was resolved to raise a pub- .ic subscription for his suitable commemoration.

(1) "Born of humble parents in the village of Manjaran, on the confines of Goa and Sáwantwádi, Dr. Bháu Dáji very early showed signs of great intelligence, and his father brought him to Bombay to prosecute his studies first in the Maráthí Central School, and afterwards in the English department of the then only Government educational institution. Here he had the benefit of the instruction and, what was of more importance, the friendship of those distinguished pioneers of English education in Bombay, Messrs. Orlebar, Harkness, Bell, and Henderson,—men who were not content with imparting to their pupils mere book-learning, but who felt that the education they were imparting would naturally lead their students to take a prominent part in the great duties of citizenship, and perhaps in the government of the country. Under such instructors the modest and intellectual character of Dr. Bháu Dáji grew and matured, and he became a leading scholar, taking prizes and medals in the principal subjects taught. It was about this time that he gained the prize for the best essay on Infanticide in Káṭhiawáḍ, and was appointed a teacher in the Elphinstone Institution. His attention was soon after called to the benefit of travel, and the study of the antiquarian remains of his country, for the purpose of ascertaining and completing its history, and his first journeys were taken in company with the then Chief Justice, Sir E. Perry, whose encouragement of educated natives in all such useful undertakings is still gratefully remembered. Dr. Bháu Dáji's enlightened mind and his innate compassionate disposition led him ᵘᶜⁿ to enter the new Medical College then being established—a

means not only of extending his physical researches, but of increasing his ability to benefit his fellow-countrymen by imparting to them the benefits of the European practice of medicine and surgery. He became a student at the Grant Medical College, and was one of the first who were distinguished as G.G.M.C. After holding for a very short time the appointment of Sub-Assistant Surgeon, he gave up the idea of Government service and commenced a private practice, which in time exceeded anything he could have at first hoped for, and which soon made him famous as one whose wisdom and experience rendered him the best adviser for the ailments of all classes, from the prince to the peasant, from the chief to the coolie; and while his opinion was courted by his rich fellow-countrymen, he, to his great credit, 'never turned away his face from the poor man,' but, aided in every way by his hardly less able brother, Dr. Náráyạṇ Dáji, administered to the medical wants of large numbers of the poor at their dispensary in this city. Ever anxious for information, he searched the old works of the Sanskṛit sages, and examined the effect of drugs to which they had given almost fabulous power over diseases, and in the course of this inquiry was led to the investigation of that terrible disease leprosy. Much has been written and said about his secret. I think it right to say that the medicine is no secret. (Hear, hear.) I know that it is known to many—to some here present—and the treatment is still carried on by his brother. But what Dr. Bháu Dáji felt was that in this matter it was not wise to publish the results until those results showed, as far as human eye could see, a certainty in grappling with the disease. I was present on one occasion with some of the leading medical and scientific men of this city when Dr. Bháu Dáji showed us drugs, and photographs of patients in the different stages, and also living instances of the power the medicine had had for good, and he then explained that he still held back from placing the treatment before the profession and public until he could conscientiously say, Here is a cure. In the meantime he was accumulating the necessary facts and having the illustrations prepared for the work. His sad illness and death have prevented its completion, but we may trust that his able brother will perfect what he left undone. I now turn to his more public career as a citizen of Bombay and an ardent promoter of education. He was the first representative of the Elphinstone Institution that was appointed a member of the late Board of Education, and remained so until its abolition and the establishment of the University, of which he was one of the Fellows mentioned in the Act of Incorporation, and up to the

time of his death took a leading part in its proceedings. As the first Native President of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, and the companion of the cause of female education, he will be handed down to future generations by his name being associated with one of the first and most promising schools for girls founded by that Society, for which an endowment was provided by his friends and admirers. (Applause.) Ever prominent in all good works for the advancement and amelioration of his countrymen, his voice was never silent when distress or calamity in Europe led to appeals for charity here, and in the proceedings of the Lancashire Relief Fund he took a prominent part. In the political progress of India he took great and active interest, and the Bombay Association and the Bombay Branch of the East India Association owe their existence mainly to his ability and exertions, and on two occasions when chosen as Sheriff by the Government the voice of public approval showed how highly the appointment was approved by his fellow-citizens. In all this he showed himself not only a good citizen of the world, but, more than that—the helper and defender of the poor, and the sick, and the distressed."—*Hon. Mr. Gibbs, Chairman.*

(2) "It is now nearly twenty years since I had the happiness of making the acquaintance of the late Dr. Bháu Dáji, who has, to the great loss of this Presidency, been taken hence in the prime of a useful, honourable, and generous life, of which the community of Bombay has just reason to be proud. Eminent and successful in his own profession, he nevertheless found time for literature and antiquarian research, and laboured to promote in all respects the welfare and advancement in civilization of his country. The lesson which his life teaches to and illustrates for his fellow-countrymen is this—that, unlike too many of the young men of the present day in India, his craving for education did not limit itself to learning sufficient to obtain for him a Government appointment, or other situation, or a profession. He never thought that he could educate himself sufficiently; he hungered and thirsted for knowledge to the day in which he was stricken down by the malady which proved fatal to him. He loved learning and science for their own sakes, and cultivated them ardently and steadily, and with marked success. His labours as an antiquarian have established for him a European name. He spared neither time nor money in obtaining copies and photographs of inscriptions, of which India yields such a plentiful harvest, and in accumulating ancient and valuable manuscripts and books, which may yet, I trust, in connexion with his name, advance the cause of

learning in Bombay. I shall never forget a speech which it was my good fortune to hear him deliver in this hall, when speaking of a religious faith to which he did not belong: he expressed himself with I will not say a toleration, but with an intelligent appreciation and sympathy which manifested that liberality of sentiment which is the result of high mental culture. Nor ought I to pass over an instance of his public spirit. Believing one of his poorest and most humble fellow-countrymen to have been wronged by one of the local authorities, he warmly espoused his cause, and never deserted him until he obtained compensation for his wrongs in the chief tribunal of this island at the time." (Cheers.)—*Hon. Mr. Chief Justice Westropp.*

"Dr. Bháu has rendered invaluable services to his country by his researches into the ancient architecture of India. So great was his reputation as an antiquarian that when our Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, visited the caves of Ellora, he invited the learned doctor to accompany him, so that he might benefit by his lucid explanations. As a medical practitioner you must have all heard of the cure of the terrible malady of leprosy which he succeeded in discovering, and which has been spoken of so highly. It is a known fact that to the poor and needy his advice was given gratis, and instances are numerous in which with advice was combined assistance. Many here present who enjoyed his friendship will agree with me in thinking that as a private individual Dr. Bháu was all that could be wished. His genial disposition, his suavity of manners, and his other sterling qualities will live in the memory of all who knew him for years to come."—*Hon. Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy.*

(3) "Dr. Bháu's name as an antiquarian and scholar stands very high. His reputation as such is spread over India, Europe, and America. He made several very valuable discoveries in this branch. I will mention one or two of them. The value of the ancient Sanskṛit numerals was for a long time unknown. Even Prinsep, that prince of Indian antiquarians, was not able to determine it. It did not depend on the position of the figures, as it does at present. The numeral 1, when it stands alone, signifies unity, when there is another figure over it it signifies *ten*, and another still *one hundred*. Such was not the case with ancient Sanskṛit numerals. Their value was constant, whatever the position, like that of the Roman numerals. In some copper-plate grants a certain mark was found, alongside which there were the words 'three hundred'; and Prinsep and all subsequent antiquarians took it to represent that number in all cases. But after a while it was found that

he coins of about eighteen or twenty princes of a certain dynasty contained that mark. Antiquarians, then, began to ask themselves, 'What! did so many princes reign only for one century?' Mr. Thomas then observed that the mark had minute strokes to the right, and that their form and number varied on the different coins, and suspected that the value of the mark was in some way affected by these strokes. But he was not able to find out in what way they affected it. It was Dr. Bháu Dáji, then, that determined their value. He compared the numbers existing in the several cave-inscriptions at Násik, Kárle*n*, Kanheri, and Junir, and came to the conclusion that the mark without any of the right-hand strokes signified *one hundred,* with one stroke it signified *two hundred,* with two *three hundred,* and with the numerals four and five below it *four hundred* and *five hundred,* and so on. In this way he determined the values of a good many numerical symbols. But this was not his only discovery. There was once a dynasty of the name of 'Guptas.' Inscriptions of several kings of that dynasty were found containing dates. One date was 93, another 165; but what era these dates were to be referred to nobody knew. Different antiquarians took different eras, and the difference between the dates they assigned to these princes came to several hundreds. But there is an inscription of one of these princes on the celebrated Junágaḍh rock, a copy of which was sent to Prinsep, but he did not decipher it. Dr. Bháu took it up and translated it, and may be said to have set the question at rest. In that inscription he discovered three dates with the words: "Gupta kalasya,' *i.e.* 'in the era of the Guptas,' occurring after them; from whence it was seen that these princes used their own era. The initial date of this is known from the writings of an Arabian author and from inscriptions to be 319 A.D. Then there was another dynasty of princes who called themselves Sáhs, the names of the members of which have been determined principally from coins. There are also two inscriptions of this dynasty; one of these is on the same Junágaḍh rock, and it was translated by Prinsep before. Dr. Bháu took it up again and re-translated it, and pointed out some errors into which Prinsep had fallen. He showed that the king named in that inscription, Rudra Dáma, was not the son of Chashṭhana, as Prinsep thought, but his grandson. But the portion of the inscription containing the father's name was broken off, and it could not be determined. This, however, Dr. Bháu found out, and brought to light the names of four or five princes more of this dynasty by translating an inscription on a pillar at Jusdun, in Káṭhiáwaḍ. In this search for

antiquities, and in taking copies of inscriptions, Dr. Bháu was indefatigable. He went several times to Ajaṇṭá, deciphered and translated the cave-inscriptions at that place, and threw light upon a new dynasty of kings. He did several other such things, and wrote a good deal more; so that no one who wishes to write a paper on the antiquities of the last two thousand years can do so without referring to Dr. Bháu's writings. (Hear, hear.) But this was not the only thing of the kind that he did. He devoted much time and attention to the collection of rare Sanskṛit verses; himself went to places where he could find them, and when he could not go employed agents to look for them and get them copied; until there was almost no part of India which had not an agent of Dr. Bháu's."—*Professor R. G. Bhánḍárkar.*

(4) "He had known, Dr. Wilson said, Dr. Bháu Dáji from his very boyhood. He first attracted his attention in the classes of the Native Education Society taught by Messrs. Bell and Henderson, in which he especially noticed his eagerness for the acquisition of knowledge, particularly that which was connected with mathematics and physical science. He was a favourite pupil (for his intelligence and diligence) with those most zealous and able pioneers of Government English education in Bombay, and with Dr. Harkness and Mr. Orlebar, who were the first Principal and Professor of the Elphinstone Institution, with whom Messrs. Bell and Henderson were united in office on their raising up material for a collegiate institution. (Applause.) Under these four gentlemen, all distinguished for their attainments in learning and their success in tuition, Bháu Dáji made rapid and sure progress. He soon became a regular attendant also at the meetings, conferences, and lectures which were conducted and delivered by himself (Dr. Wilson); and he never failed to express his gratitude for the benefits which he thought he had received at them. He privately studied the Sanskṛit language when he was an assistant-teacher at the Elphinstone Institution; and his scholarship and benevolence, aided by his knowledge of that tongue, first found their scope in his Government Prize Essay on Infanticide, which had an important effect dehortative of that unnatural crime among the Jáḍejás of Káṭhiawáḍ and Kacch. (Hear, hear.) The commencement of his studies at the Grant Medical College did not contract, but enlarged, the sphere of his observation and inquiry. With Dr. Morehead and the Professors there he was an admired favourite; and he obtained from them the respect and confidence which he deserved. He

preferred being a private practitioner to being a Government servant, that he might follow the bent of his own inclinations as to practice and study. On his joining the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society he took a hearty interest in its work. In our Journal about a dozen substantial articles appeared from his pen, while many other valuable notices were to be found in the Appendices. It was believed by many that his name might yet appear in the history of medical science as directed to that dreadful disease leprosy, in connexion with which his experiments and treatment in many instances, to all appearance, have been successful to a large and encouraging extent. Much of his medical practice was unrewarded by man. Advice, attendance, and medicine were by him frequently freely bestowed—a fact which, it was to be hoped, would be kept in mind in the destination of at least a portion of the testimonial subscription to be made on this occasion. Altogether, Dr. Bháu Dáji was a most remarkable character. He would, it was to be hoped, be a bright exemplar in this country for generations to come—an exemplar as a student, and a scholar, and a philanthropist; and it should be added, with a full warranty of facts, as a candid, religious inquirer and bold religious reformer. (Applause.) His courage in the notorious Maháráj case, both in the Supreme Court and elsewhere, could not be forgotten. He had imperilled his practice with many on that occasion, but this he did without regret. The respect which he had for another faith (not that of his fathers) had already been alluded to by the honourable speakers by whom the meeting had already been addressed." (Cheers.)—*Rev. Dr. Wilson.*

(5) "From the first days of our acquaintance I felt drawn to him by that attraction which links all workers in the intellectual field in one great fellowship. I found he had had cravings and aspirations in his student-days which seemed to reproduce that part of my own life. He had been an indefatigable labourer, yet withal something of a visionary. But what visions those are which rise before the mind of the successful student as early manhood and hope roll out the future before him! Wordsworth has said, 'Heaven lies about us in our infancy.' Rather it gathers round us in those years of opening manhood when, the drudgery of mastering the rudiments being over, we learn in the society of cultivated and accomplished minds to drink in the full beauty and significance of all that science and literature have to reveal. Then it is that a 'vision splendid' opens on the student in his moments of day-dreaming. His dull surroundings fade from view. Illimitable vistas of knowledge to

be gained and honours to be won open out to his mind's eye, and vague bright hopes are borne in to him on the wings of a young imagination. He would take all learning for his province, and compass with his life the task of ages. In such dreams had Bháu Dáji indulged, and when he spoke all he had hoped to do my spirit leaped in sympathy. He had seen all this 'fade into the light of common day,' as all of us have or are destined to see it. But these musings were not all unpractical. They had revealed glimpses of an intellectual paradise, which having seen he could no longer view with the longings of a baser nature the vulgar rewards which for so many are the chief good this world supplies. He gained an ideal of the man of learning, which kept him through life independent, firm in integrity, in openness of mind, and kindliness of heart. He had difficulties to overcome in acquiring the rudiments of learning, which have been well described to the meeting. But he also enjoyed an inestimable advantage. I would not be understood to disparage the educational system now at work, or the teachers who work it; but there appears to have been in the infant days of British culture in Bombay an energy, an elasticity, a hopefulness and confidence which now somehow are wanting. All institutions as they grow older become more and more imbedded in traditions. Proprieties press down with leaden influence on all spontaneousness, and mechanism takes the place of nature. In earlier days this was not so. There was more faith, more dependence on the one side, responded to by a more full outflow of the teacher's whole being on the other. There was an intercourse of mind with mind, an approach of soul to soul, which, when the teacher is worthy of his position, affords the highest of all training. Of all this I speak from tradition, but the tradition cannot be wholly wrong when it is corroborated by such results as appear in the life of Bháu Dáji, and of some who yet survive to do credit to their teachers, as I trust, for at least another generation. Under such teaching, Dr. Bháu Dáji easily triumphed over all disadvantages. He not only acquired learning but manliness, a contempt for all tinsel pretences, and a love for thoroughness of work which was essential in his future career. In this spirit he entered on the study of medicine, and how successfully he prosecuted that study you have already been told. He had an ideal to satisfy, and a truthful, modest nature. His ability thus got fair play, and placed him ere long in the front rank of his profession. Meanwhile he was becoming a philologer. His labours no doubt were impeded by professional work, but for this even there was a compensation. If we look back on the intellectual gains of the last half-century, and in-

juire into their history, we find they are in the main due to the application to matters of scholarship of the methods of investigation developed by the followers of physical science. Bháu Dáji had worked n this field, had saturated his mind with the spirit that reigned there. Thus he came armed to cope with the difficulties that beset an investigation of Indian antiquities. What he achieved in this way has been hadowed forth to you. I could not pretend to do it justice, but I will ust observe that the means by which, as Professor Bháṇḍárkar has lescribed, he arrived at a solution of the problem presented by the nysterious numeral sign, affords a true instance of philosophic working according to the method of difference. His labours have been brought to an untimely close, but they have gained him a high and honourable place in the records of learning. His versatility of talent and devotion to intellectual pursuits are somewhat rare in every country. In India, so far as I know, Bháu Dáji's life and example are almost unique. And there is a point connected with them on which I may be allowed to dwell. He affords an example which the peculiar circumstances of society in this country make specially necessary, specially valuable."—*Hon. Mr. Justice West.*

(6) "The chief characteristic of Dr. Bháu Dáji was an unstinted sympathy. This had been referred to by many speakers with regard to its being shown in Dr. Bháu's medical practice, and his constant readiness to assist others; and it was not only apparent in these, but in every thing he could lay his hands to on behalf of the public. He (Mr. Wood) remembered how on one occasion he heard Dr. Bháu Dáji, with very strong feeling, quote one of the aphorisms or institutes of Aśoka. These were the words, 'the heart of Buddha was filled with infinite pity.' Though we may find many similar texts in the Christian Scriptures, this, coming from Dr. Bháu as it did, struck him (Mr. Wood) very much. And, as they all knew, this sentiment or principle was apparent in Dr. Bháu's daily life and actions. He would just mention one instance of this which had come under his notice. Little more than half a year ago, and when, as they knew, Dr. Bháu was lying prostrate and powerless, news came that an assistant of his, engaged in archæological exploration, had been taken ill with fever on his way to Nepál; and Dr. Bháu Dáji knew very well the dangerous nature of the Terai fever. This man is a Gujarát Bráhmaṇ, Bhagwánlál by name, and well known to many of them as one who, under Dr. Bháu's direction, had acquired great skill in the copying and deciphering of ancient inscriptions. Well, Dr. Bháu sent a pressing

message to him (Mr. Wood) to come and see him on some urgent business, which proved to be about this matter. He could not describe the strong feeling, he might say the love, with which Dr. Bháu spoke of this man, and how keen was the anxiety which he expressed because of this assistant being exposed to mortal danger on his account. The paralyzed doctor said he would do anything he could to rescue him, and he tossed with restlessness in his anxiety to do something. The sick man was an immense distance off, and of course nothing could be done but to make inquiry by writing to the Resident. This was done, and in due time a kind answer was received from Mr. Girdlestone, saying that on search being made, Bhagwán was found lodged at one of the temples with some of his caste-people, and though it was true he had the fever, he was then recovering, and had escaped from its worst effects. The Resident at once sent medical assistance to him. These tidings being given to Dr. Bháu Dáji, he was delighted and his mind relieved."—*Mr. W. M. Wood.*

(7) *The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Gibbs,* Vice-Chancellor, at the Convocation of the University of Bombay, spoke thus:—

"As I told the students at the Grant College a few days ago, they do not consider the important fact that their *real* education only then commences, that unless they are content simply to *exist*, and do not desire to *grow*, they must ever continue apt to learn. I am told that in some of the examinations in the higher grades the examiners find men coming up time after time, and failing on each successive occasion more signally than before. Those who enter on the liberal professions and have to earn their bread by their skill are obliged in some degree to keep pace with the times, but those who enter the service of the State are too apt to rest content with their lot, and find in their daily office routine sufficient for them. Let me warn all against leading such lazy lives. Take example from the late Dr. Bháu Dáji; look what he has done for his country; how he studied its early history and its ancient languages, and gave the results of his inquiries to the scientific world; how he made deep research into the hidden mysteries of Sanskrit lore and culled therefrom additional benefits for his deceased fellow-countrymen! He studied and searched the past for the benefit of the present and future. Let all take example from this distinguished man's career,—not the medical graduate only, but the lawyer and the civil engineer. Looking at the records of old, both to writings and buildings, we may indeed say, 'there were giants in those days.' Let it be the pride and satisfaction of this University to find its gra-

luates, not, as was ably pointed out by one of the leading Anglo-vernacular papers a few months ago, permitting their exclusively English education to lead them to deny the existence of science and art among their ancestors; not falling behind the alumni of the older educational institutions of the Presidency; but, following diligently those pioneers of the study of the past, let it be said that they perfected what others began, and that the University of Bombay has sent out not mere pedants, much less conceited half-educated striplings, but *men* who in the state, on the bench, or at the bar, as architects or as physicians, prove themselves, as Dr. Bháu Dáji did, worthy of their education, beloved and respected in their lives, and in their deaths honoured and deplored." (Loud applause.)

After the above documents were submitted, it was unanimously agreed to insert them in the Proceedings of the meeting.

It was then proposed by the Rev. Dr. Wilson, seconded by Mr. Manockjee Cursetjee, and unanimously carried—"That the following gentlemen be elected as the Committee for the year 1875:—

Committee of Management.

President: The Honourable James Gibbs, F.R.G.S.

Vice-Presidents: The Honourable Mr. Justice West, B.A., F.R.G.S.; the Honourable Ráo Sáheb Vishvanáth N. Maṇḍlik; Surgeon-General W. Thom, F.R.C.S.; Col. J. A. Ballard, C.B., R.E.

Members: W. Loudon, Esq.; E. T. Leith, Esq., LL.M.; Prof. R.G. Bhánḍárkar, M.A.; Lieut. H. Morland, I.N., F.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.; Náráyaṇ Dáji, Esq., G.G.M.C.; Javerilal Umiashankar, Esq.; J.A. Forbes, Esq.; Surgeon-Major W. Dymock, B.A.; Rev. D.C. Boyd, M.A.; C.E. Fox, Esq., M.A.; Dhanjibhai Framji, Esq.; J. G. daCunha, Esq., M.R.C.S.

Secretaries: The Honourable Ráo Sáheb Vishvanáth Náráyaṇ Maṇḍlik; Surgeon-Major O. Codrington, F.R.M.S.

Auditors: Thomas Lidbetter, Esq.; Átmárám Páṇḍurang, Esq., G.G.M.C.

The following new Periodicals were ordered:—*Hindu Patriot*, Calcutta; *Mookerjee's Magazine*, Calcutta; *Madras Athenæum* instead of *Madras Times*.

The following were ordered to be discontinued:—*Journal des Débats*, *Norderdeutsch*, *New York Herald*, *Poona Observer*, *Scindian*, *Once a Week*, *Australian Illustrated News*.

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE

Dr. *STATEMENT of INCOME and EXPENDITURE*

1874.			Amount.
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Dec. 31st.	Balance of last year ...	......	2,950 9 4
	Subscriptions of Resident Members..............	10,477 8 0	
	Ditto Non-Resident Members	565 0 0	
	Ditto Life-Members	2,800 0 0	
	Ditto to the Library	425 0 0	14,267 8 0
	Subscriptions in arrears for 1872	15 0 0	
	Ditto ditto for 1873..............	695 0 0	710 0 0
	Government Contribution		4,100 0 0
	Journal sale-proceeds		134 6 0
	Cash Balance of the Geographical Society		67 4 8
	Sale-proceeds of old Papers and Boxes...		1 8 0
			22,281 4 0

Examined and found correct.

THOMAS LIDBETTER, } Auditors.
ATMARAM PANDURANG, }

Bombay, Town Hall, 1*st January* 1875.

YAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

1st January to 31st December 1874. **Cr.**

l.					Amount.		
		Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Ist.	Office Establishment	7,091	3	8			
	Postage and Receipt Stamps	185	10	9			
	Shipping Charges	54	13	0			
	Stationery	327	3	6			
	General Charges	2,084	8	10			
	Purchase of Books and Publications	926	11	0			
	Subscription to Newspapers and Periodicals	769	14	6			
	Binding Charges	413	12	0			
	Advertising and Printing Charges	1,872	2	0			
	Compassionate Allowance	220	0	0			
	Dead Stock purchased	2	8	0			
	Silver Coins purchased	34	12	0			
	Premium on Government Paper paid	90	0	0			
	Interest paid on ditto	46	7	2			
					14,119	10	5
	Balance:—						
	In the New Bank of Bombay	6,101	12	8			
	In hand	9	12	11			
	Government Four per cent. Paper	2,000	0	0			
					8,111	9	7
					22,231	4	0

E. E.

VISHVANATH N. MANDLIK,

Vice-President and Joint Secretary.

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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Vice-Patrons.

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Honorary President.

The Rev. JOHN WILSON, D.D., F.R.S.

President.

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Vice-Presidents.

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The Hon. Ráo Sáheb Vishvanáth N. Maṇḍlik.
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Colonel J. A. Ballard, C.B., R.E.

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Secretaries.

The Hon. Ráo Sáheb Vishvanáth Náráyaṇ Maṇḍlik.
Surgeon-Major O. Codrington, F.R.M.S.

Auditors.

Thomas Lidbetter, Esq.
Átmárám Páṇḍurang, Esq., G.G.M.C.

List of Resident Members for 1874.

Year of Election.	
1840	Manockji Cursetji, Esq.
1845	H. P. St. George Tucker, Esq.
1846	Lestock Reid, Esq.
1847	The Hon'ble Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy.
,,	Manmohandas Devidas, Esq.
1850	Dhanjibhoy Framji, Esq.
1854	S. Carvalho, Esq.
,,	R. A. Dallas, Esq.
1855	Vinayakrao Wasudeoji, Esq.
1857	Sir Mangaldas Nathubhoy.
1860	J. A. Forbes, Esq.
,,	J. M. Maclean, Esq.
,,	The Rev. D. Macpherson.
,,	The Hon'ble James Gibbs.
1861	Framji Nussurwanji, Esq.
,,	Cursetji Rustamji Cama, Esq.
,,	W. Loudon, Esq.
,,	The Honourable Rao Saheb Vishvanath N. Mandlik.
,,	Surgeon-General W. Thom.
1863	Cumroodeen Tyabji, Esq.
,,	The Honourable Mr. Justice Green.
,,	The Hon'ble Mr. Justice R. West.
,,	The Hon'ble Mr. Justice R. H. Pinhey.
,,	Harichand Sadasewji, Esq.
,,	Javerilal Umiashankar, Esq.
,,	Cursetji Fardunji Parakh, Esq.
,,	F. F. Arbuthnot, Esq.
,,	Manockji Sorabji Ashburner, Esq.

Year of Election.	
1863	Burjorji Sorabji Ashburner, Esq.
,,	The Hon'ble A. R. Scoble.
,,	The Rev. R. Stothert.
,,	William Dymock, Esq.
,,	Dhirajlal Mathuradas, Esq.
1864	The Honourable Mr. Justice Bayley.
,,	Nowroji Manockji Wadia, Esq.
,,	G. A. Kittredge, Esq.
,,	Byramji Jejeebhoy, Esq.
,,	A. C. Gumpert, Esq.
,,	Cursetji Nussurwanji Cama, Esq.
,,	Shantaram Narayan, Esq.
,,	Ardaseer Cursetji Furdoonji, Esq.
,,	G. S. Lynch, Esq.
,,	W. Niven, Esq., M.D.
,,	Colonel J. A. Ballard, C.B.
1865	The Rev. W. Maule.
,,	The Rev. D. C. Boyd.
,,	Sorabji Framji Patell, Esq.
,,	Atmaram Pandurang, Esq.
,,	F. Mathew, Esq.
,,	Narayan Daji, Esq.
,,	Hamilton Maxwell, Esq.
,,	A. W. Forde, Esq.
,,	T. B. Johnstone, Esq.
,,	Henry Cleveland, Esq.
,,	W. M. Wood, Esq.
,,	E. D. Sassoon, Esq.
,,	C. E. Benn, Esq.
1866	Brigadier-General J. S. Gell.
,,	Vandrawandas Purshotamdas, Esq.

Year of Election.	
1866	Charles Currey, Esq.
,,	D. Watson, Esq.
,,	R. L. Crawford, Esq.
,,	E. B. Carroll, Esq.
,,	Janardhan Gopalji, Esq.
,,	T. Ormiston, Esq.
,,	Captain G. F. Henry.
,,	C. H. Reynolds, Esq.
,,	Ramcrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Esq.
,,	W. G. Hunter, Esq., M.D.
1867	The Rev. G. C. Reynell.
,,	D. Graham, Esq.
,,	Dr. F. G. Joynt.
,,	Dustoor Jamasji Mancherji.
,,	C. P. Cooper, Esq.
,,	G. H. Farran, Esq.
,,	John Westlake, Esq.
,,	T. E. Taylor, Esq.
,,	T. B. Kirkham, Esq.
,,	P. F. Gomes, Esq.
,,	C. Peile, Esq.
,,	R. M. A. Branson, Esq.
,,	Thomas Lidbetter, Esq.
,,	Morarjee Gokaldas, Esq.
1868	E. T. Leith, Esq.
,,	Kahandas Mancharam, Esq.
,,	The Hon'ble Nacoda Mahomed Ali Rogay.
,,	C. A. Langley, Esq.
,,	F. R. S. Wyllie, Esq.
,,	Surgeon-Major J. Lumsdaine.
,,	M. R. D'Quadros, Esq.
,,	R. M. MacLean, Esq.
,,	J. C. Lisboa, Esq.
,,	C. E. Fox, Esq.
,,	James Burgess, Esq.
1868	Perozshaw M. Mehta, Esq.
1869	Edward Walker, Esq.
,,	A. E. Ashley, Esq.
,,	W. F. Peel, Esq.
,,	F. L. Latham, Esq.
,,	F. W. Doolittle, Esq., M.D.
,,	L. P. D'Rozario, Esq.
,,	Cursetji Manockji Cursetji, Esq.
,,	Sorabji Shapoorji Bengalee, Esq.
,,	John Dixon, Esq.
1870	The Rev. J. S. S. Robertson.
,,	J. Jardine, Esq.
,,	The Right Rev. H. A. Douglas.
,,	Hormusji Ardaseer Suntook, Esq.
,,	The Hon'ble Sir M. R. Westropp.
,,	H. P. LeMesurier, Esq.
,,	Vinayek Ramchandra Luxumon, Esq.
,,	The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Kemball.
,,	James Simpson, Esq.
,,	Robert Ewing, Esq.
1871	W. Fraser, Esq.
,,	J. Q. Pigot, Esq.
,,	Thakordas Atmaram Mehta, Esq.
,,	J. A. Cassels, Esq.
,,	Bomonji Cursetji Cawasji, Esq.
,,	J. Jefferson, Esq.
,,	Shapoorji Hormusji Phatak, Esq.

'ear of
lection.

871 C. A. Stuart, Esq.
872 The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Marriott.
,, J. M. Campbell, Esq.
,, J. L. Kipling, Esq.
,, His Excellency Sir P. E. Wodehouse, K.C.B.
,, J. B. Paterson, Esq.
,, John Gordon, Esq.
873 Surgeon-Major T. E. P. Martin.
,, The Hon'ble A. Rogers.
,, Surgeon-Major O. Codrington.
,, J. G. DaCunha, Esq.
,, A. Allardyce, Esq.
,, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Nanabhai Haridas.
,, W. G. Hall, Esq.
,, J. W. Orr, Esq.
,, G. H. Traill, Esq.
,, The Hon'ble J. K. Bythell.
,, P. Ryan, Esq.
,, Dhirajram Dalpatram, Esq.
,, Dinshaw Manockji Petit, Esq.
,, J. McDonald, Esq.
,, J. Macfarlane, Esq.
,, Captain Henry Morland.
,, Lieutenant W. L. Searle.
,, Sorabji Jamsetji Jejeebhoy, Esq.
,, Vurjivandas Madhowdas, Esq.
,, R. G. Walton, Esq.
1874 H. Conder, Esq.
,, Major J. H. White.
,, T. W. Wood, Esq.

Year of
Election.

1874 A. Buchanan, Esq.
,, Kashinath Trimbak Telang, Esq.
,, Byramji Nussurwanji Sirvai, Esq.
,, N. Spencer, Junior, Esq.
,, H. Gamble, Esq.
,, Captain W. P. Walsh.
,, W. Forrest, Esq.
,, David Finlayson, Esq.
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,, Cursetji Jehangirjee Tarachand, Esq.
,, P. Peterson, Esq.
,, Robert Clark, Esq.
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,, F. Feddon, Esq.
,, Perozshaw Merwanji Jejeebhoy, Esq.
,, Hormasji Nowroji Sacklatwala, Esq.
,, Ardaseer Framji Moos, Esq.
,, Grattan Geary, Esq.
,, Jehangirji Burjorjee Wacha, Esq.
,, Shamrao Vithal, Esq.
,, Ganputrao Bhaskur, Esq.

Non-Resident Members.

Year of Election.	
1856	T. C. Hope, Esq.
1859	J. P. Straton, Esq.
1861	M. J. M. Shaw Stewart, Esq.
„	A. Faulkner, Esq.
1862	J. B. Peile, Esq.
1863	J. R. Arthur, Esq.
„	H. M. Birdwood, Esq.
„	G. Bühler, Esq., Ph.D.
„	J. B. Richey, Esq.
1864	W. T. Blanford, Esq.
„	H. M. Scott, Esq.
„	R. S. Sinclair, Esq., LL.D.
„	Major T. Waddington.
„	Captain E. W. West.
1865	T. Cooke, Esq., M.A., M.I., LL.D.
„	Rao Bahadur Janardan Wasudeoji, Esq.
„	Rao Bahadur Trimalrao Vyankatesh.
1866	W. J. Addis, Esq.
„	Dr. H. Aitkins.
„	Bulwantrao Vinayak Shastri, Esq.
„	J. H. Rivett-Carnac, Esq.
„	C. E. Chapman, Esq.
„	A. T. Crawford, Esq.
„	Dustoor Hoshangji Jamasji, Esq.
„	H. B. Hargrave, Esq.
„	G. Norman, Esq.
„	E. H. Percival, Esq.
„	J. M. Sleater, Esq.
1867	K. M. Chatfield, Esq., B.A.
„	F. Kielhorn, Esq., Ph.D.
„	A. C. Lyall, Esq.
„	H. B. Major, Esq.
1867	Alijah Ramchundra Apa Saheb, Chief of Jumkhundy.
„	Col. W. V. Shewell.
1868	Alijah Amrootrao Daflay, Chief of Jutt.
„	Colonel W. W. Anderson.
„	Azum Bhugwanji Kurumsey, Minister to H. H. the Jam of Nowanuggur.
„	Azum Goculji Samputram, Prime Minister to H. H. the Nawab of Joonaghur.
„	Gopal Shri Soorvingji Thakore Saheb of Palitana.
„	Govind Krishna Bhooskutay, Esq.
„	Gowrishanker Odeyshanker, Esq., Minister to H. H. the Thakore Saheb of Bhownuggur.
„	Juggonath Icharam, Esq.
„	H. H. the Jam of Nowanuggur.
„	Azum Jeyashankar Lalshankar, Minister to the Thakore Saheb of Gondul.
„	Jhareja Shri Jeyasingji, Thakore Saheb of Dhrole.
„	Krishnaji Luxuman, Esq.
„	H. H. the Nawab of Joonaghur.
„	Surgeon J. Pinkerton.
„	G. B. Reid, Esq.
„	Pant Pratinidhi Shreeneewas Rowji.

Year of Election.	
1868	H. H. the Thakore Saheb of Bhownuggur.
,,	H. H. the Thakore Saheb of Morvee.
,,	H. H. the Thakore Saheb of Gondul.
1869	Bomanji Jamasji, Esq.
,,	Jorawur Khanji Bahadoor, Nawab of Radhunpore.
,,	Lt.-Col. J. F. Lester.
,,	Rev. A. V. Lisboa.
1870	R. M. E. Brereton, Esq.
,,	J. Jardine, Esq.
1871	R. E. Candy, Esq.
,,	A. D. Cunnyngham, Esq.
1871	G. H. D. Wilson, Esq.
1872	J. E. André, Esq.
,,	H. Batty, Esq.
,,	Surgeon-Major W. Davey.
,,	Professor Kero Laxuman Chhatray.
,,	W. Lee-Warner, Esq.
,,	W. Ramsay, Esq.
,,	W. Woodward, Esq.
1874	A. F. Pereira, Esq.
,,	Shripad Babaji Thakore, C.S.
,,	Leopoldo Cipriano da Gama, Esq., Deputy Postmaster Genl., Portuguese India.

List of Honorary Members.

The Rev. John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S. (*Honorary President.*)

1830	Sir J. Gardiner Wilkinson, London.
1832	Mons. Garcin de Tassy, Paris.
1835	A. S. Walne, Esq., Cairo.
1842	Prof. C. Lassen, Bonn.
,,	M. le Marquis de Ferrière de Vayer.
,,	N. L. Westergaard, Esq., K.D., Copenhagen.
1848	M. Felix Bogaerts, Antwerp.
,,	M. le Vicomte de Kerckhove, Antwerp.
,,	M. Eugène de Kerckhove, Antwerp.
1849	B. Hodgson, Esq., Bengal C.S., London.
,,	Captain R. N. Inglefield, London.
1855	The Rev. R. H. Friederich, Batavia, Java.
1860	Martin Haug, Ph.D.
1862	H. J. Carter, Esq., F.R.S., late of the Bombay Medical Service, London.
1865	W. E. Frere, Esq., C.S., London.
1866	Honourable Sir R. Temple, K.C.S.I., Calcutta.
,,	Dr. A. Weber, Berlin.
1867	A. H. Leith, Esq., M.D., London.
,,	J. H. Rivara da Cunha, Esq., Goa.
1868	G. C. M. Birdwood, Esq., M.D., London.
1869	H. Newton, Esq., C.S.
1874	M. Commendatore Negri, ~~Italian Ambassador at Paris, and~~ President of the Geographical Society of Italy.
,,	E. Rehatsek, M.C.E.

Members gone to Europe.

Year of Election.	
1822	W. Nicol, Esq.
1828	Sir P. M. Melvill.
1829	Augustus LeMessurier, Esq.
1830	Sir H. C. Rawlinson, C.B.
„	Lestock R. Reid, Esq.
1831	J. S. Law, Esq.
1832	Colonel James Holland.
1834	R. W. Crawford, Esq.
1835	John Harkness, Esq.
1837	P. Ewart, Esq.
„	E. L. Jenkins, Esq.
1838	D. Davidson, Esq.
„	Major-Genl. Sir G. LeGrand Jacob, C.B., K.C.S.I.
„	C. Morehead, Esq., M.D.
„	Col. H. B. Turner.
1839	W. Graham, Esq.
1840	Sir H. L. Anderson.
„	S. S. Dickinson, Esq.
„	Rev. J. M. Mitchell, D.D.
1841	C. J. Erskine, Esq., C.S.
„	H. G. Gordon, Esq.
„	J. R. Hadow, Esq.
1842	W. W. Cargill, Esq.
„	E. B. Eastwick, Esq.
„	The Right Honourable Sir H. B. E. Frere, K.C.B., G.C.S.I.
„	Sir Thomas Erskine Perry, Knight.
1843	R. K. Pringle, Esq.
„	A. Spens, Esq.
1844	Col. W. R. Dickinson.
„	Major-General W. F. Marriott.
1845	J. A. Baumbach, Esq.
„	H. Conybeare, Esq.
1846	T. S. Cowie, Esq.
„	Lieut. J. F. Jones, I.N.
„	Arthur Malet, Esq.
1847	W. C. Coles, Esq., M.D.
„	H. P. Malet, Esq.
„	Sir Wm. Yardley, Kt.
1848	Rev. J. H. Glasgow.
1849	G. M. Campbell, Esq.
„	Rev. J. D. Gibson.
„	H. B. Gilmour, Esq.
„	Thomas L. Jenkins, Esq.
1850	Major-General C. W. Tremenheere.
1851	J. Graham, Esq.
1852	H. Miller, Esq.
1854	W. P. Adam, Esq.
„	John Fleming, Esq.
1855	R. T. Reid, Esq., LL.D.
1856	Sir Edward Lugard, K.C.B.
„	Major-General H. Rivers.
1858	J. P. Bickersteth, Esq.
„	H. Hebbert, Esq.
„	J. S. White, Esq.
1860	His Excellency the Hon'ble Sir G. R. Clerk, K.C.B.
„	G. Foggo, Esq.
„	Sir Alex. Grant, Bart., M.A., LL.D.
1861	Captain F. Black.
„	W. R. Cassels, Esq.
„	W. D'Oyly, Esq.
„	C. M. Keir, Esq.
„	D. J. Kennelly, Esq.
„	Major-General Liddell.
„	George Scott, Esq.
1862	W. B. Tristram, Esq.
1863	W. R. Hoare, Esq.

Year of Election.	
1863	George Inverarity, Esq.
,,	F. F. Lidderdale, Esq.
,,	A. B. Warden, Esq.
1864	Rev. H. Gell, B.A.
,,	J. W. Wright, Esq.
,,	R. Hannay, Esq.
,,	J. G. T. Scott, Esq.
,,	John Sands, Esq.
,,	Dr. T. W. Ward.
,,	R. McIlwraith, Esq.
1865	Alex. Brown, Esq.
,,	H. J. Giraud, Esq., M.D.
,,	R. Hamilton, Esq.
,,	A. J. Hunter, Esq.
,,	Arthur Huson, Esq.
,,	H. Ramsden, Esq.
,,	A. Stewart, Esq.
1865	W. B. Thompson, Esq.
1866	F. S. Arnott, Esq.
,,	Col. W. Gray.
,,	J. F. Moir, Esq.
,,	William Nicol, Esq. (Junior.)
,,	Charles Gaddum, Esq.
,,	G. M. Stewart, Esq.
1867	W. E. Crum, Esq.
,,	The Right Honourable Sir W. R. S. V. FitzGerald.
,,	F. Lloyd, Esq.
1868	H. E. Astley, Esq.
,,	A. H. Campbell, Esq.
,,	J. Dunbar, Esq.
,,	Major-General T. Stock.
,,	F. Vix, Esq.

Subscribers to the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society.

1874	R. H. Baker, Esq.
,,	W. H. Payne, Esq.
,,	James Douglas, Esq.
,,	C. F. Farran, Esq.
,,	J. A. Shepherd, Esq.
,,	Captain A. G. Spencer.
,,	Captain Charles Gibbs.
1874	Captain E. S. Ostrehan.
,,	H. E. M. James, Esq.
,,	Robert Valentine Reid, Esq.
,,	Surgeon-Major E. J. Crane.
,,	Major A. M. Shewell.
,,	Surgeon W. Gray.

List of Resident Members of the Geographical and Natural Science Section of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

1863	Rustomji Ardaseer Wadia, Esq.
1864	Premchand Roychand, Esq.
,,	F. H. Souter, Esq., C.S.I.
1865	Beramji Nanabhoy Framji, Esq.
1865	Hirjibhoy Merwanji Wadia, Esq.
,,	H. H. G. Tippett, Esq.
1870	Jamsetji Dhanjibhoy Wadia, Esq.

Non-Resident Members of the Geographical Section of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society.

Year of Election.	
1851	J. Scorgie, Esq., F.C.S.
1859	Surgeon-Major J.T.C. Ross.
„	Lieut. A.W. Stiffe, F.R.A.S.
1861	Lieut. H. Burn, late I.N.
1862	W. M. P. Coghlan, Esq., C.S.
1863	Lieut. G. C. Parker, late I.N.
1864	Lieut. W. P. Arnott, late I.N.
„	F. A. R. Morrison, Esq.
1865	Dr. A. G. Fraser.
„	Lieut.-Colonel Sir Lewis Pelly, C.S.I.
1865	Captain C. Swinhoe.
„	A. Taylor, Esq.
„	H. Warner, Esq., late I.N.
1866	Surgeon W. A. Shepherd.
1867	Alex. Gibson, Esq.
„	F. B. Girdlestone, Esq.
1868	F. W. Pickering, Esq.
„	R. Proctor-Sims, Esq., C.E., F.R.G.S.
„	W. Sowerby, Esq., C.E., F.G.S.

At the Monthly Meeting on 13th February 1875, the Honourable James Gibbs, F.R.G.S., *President*, in the Chair :—

The following gentlemen were elected Members of the Society :—

Manockji Cursetji Jamsetji, Esq.
Cowasji Cursetji Jamsetji, Esq.
Honourable Mr. Justice Green, LL.B.

A paper entitled "The Saṅgameśvara Mahátmya and Linga-Worship" was read by the Honourable Rao Sáheb Vishvanáth Náráyaṇ Maṇḍlik.

The Rev. Dr. Wilson, in proposing a vote of thanks to the author, made some interesting observations upon the worship of Śiva, and said that anything throwing light on the question was of interest.

The Rev. J. S. S. Robertson, in seconding the proposal, hoped his honourable and learned friend would continue his researches on this subject.

At the Monthly Meeting held on the 13th March 1875, the Honourable James Gibbs, F.R.G.S , *President*, in the Chair :—

Basil Lang, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, and the Rev. G. Shirt were elected Members of the Society.

New books, maps, &c. presented to the Society were laid before the meeting, and thanks voted to the donors.

A special vote of thanks to Chevalier Dr. Von Scherzer was passed, on the motion of the *President*, seconded by the Honourable Rao Sáheb Vishvanáth Náráyaṇ Maṇḍlik, *Vice-President*, for obtaining and forwarding to this Society the volumes containing the proceedings ot the Novara Expedition.

Mr. J. G. da Cunha read a paper entitled "Memoir on the History of the Tooth-relic of Ceylon," in which he gave an account of the so-called Buddha's Tooth, dwelling especially on the writings of the Portuguese on the subject of its destruction by the Jesuits at Goa.

A vote of thanks to the author was passed on the motion of the Honourable Mr. Justice West, seconded by the Rev. J. S. S. Robertson.

The Seals belonging to the late kingdom of Sátárá, presented by the Government of Bombay, were laid before the Meeting, and the *President* gave a short account of how they were obtained. Captain Robinson proposed, and the Rev. J. S. S. Robertson seconded, that a vote of thanks be passed to the Honourable President for the pains he had taken to secure these seals for the Society. Carried *nem. con.*

A letter from Dr. Bühler was read forwarding Photograph of a Copper-plate Grant of the Valabhî king Druvasena I., the oldest yet found.

At the Monthly Meeting held on April 10th, 1875, the Honourable James Gibbs, F.R.G.S., *President*, in the Chair:—

The Honourable Rao Sáheb Vishvanáth Náráyaṇ Maṇḍlik read a paper entitled "Three Valabhî Copper-plates, with remarks." Two of the three plates had been sent to the Society by Captain Phillips on behalf of the Gondal State. They had been found at the site of the ancient city of Mugna Paṭṭan, in Káṭhiáwáḍ, and both refer to the last Śíláadityadeva of the Valabhí dynasty. Both are dated Saṁvat 403. The third plate was forwarded to the *President* by Ṭhákor Śrí Meghrájji, Chief of Wálá, in Káṭhiáwáḍ. It is dated Saṁvat 286 of the Valabhí plates, and grants certain places to the Bhikshus of a vihára the name of which is obliterated. The grantor is Śíláditya or Dharmáditya. The era of these plates is most probably the era of the Guptas.

The thanks of the meeting were voted to the author on the motion of the *President*, seconded by Mr. Burgess.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

JANUARY 1ST TO JUNE 30TH, 1875.

DA CUNHA, J. GERSON, M.R.C.S. Eng., &c.—Memoir on the History of the Tooth-Relic of Ceylon.

FLEET, J. F., Bo. C.S.—Old Canarese and Sanskṛit Inscriptions relating to the Chieftains of the Sindavaṁśa; with Translations, Notes, and Remarks.

MANDLIK, THE HON. RAO SA'HEB V. N.—Saṅgameśvara Máhátmya and Liṅga-Worship.

PIERCE, E.—A Description of the Mekranee-Beloochee Dialect.

REHATSEK, E., M.C.E.—The Subjugation of Persia by the Moslems, and the Extinction of the Sásánian Dynasty.

PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY.

FROM THE 1ST JANUARY TO THE 30TH JUNE 1875.

Administration Report of the Resident at Hyderabad for the year 1873-74. By the Resident at Hyderabad.

A Lecture on Political Economy, Part I. By the Author.

Appendix D to the Report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, for 1872-73. By the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.

Archæological Survey of Western India, by J. Burgess, Esq., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S. By the Government of Bombay.

Bibliotheca Indica: a Collection of Oriental Works, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. New Series, Nos. 308, 309, and 313. By the Society.

Bombay University Calendar for 1874-75. By the University of Bombay.

Carter on Mycetoma or the Fungus Disease of India. By the Government of Bombay.

Catalogue of Books printed in the Bombay Presidency, 1874. By the Government of Bombay.

Do. do. do. during the quarter ending 31st December 1874.

Do. do. do. during the quarter ending 31st March 1875.

Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts existing in Oudh. By the Director of Public Instruction.

Do. do. do. in Private Libraries of the N. W. Provinces, Part I., in 1874. By the Government N. W. Provinces.

Claude and Etheline and other poems, by Raseim Willowby. By the Author.

Discorso letto dal Commendatore Negri Cristoforo, Presidente Fondatore della Società geografica Italiana, la Sera del 10 Novembre 1874. By the Author.

Finance and Revenue Accounts and Miscellaneous Statistics, Part III., for 1875. By the Government of India.

Do. do. do. do. relating to the Finances of British India, Part I., from 1st May 1865 to 31st March 1873. By the Government of India.

Gazetteer of N. W. Provinces. By the Government of N. W. Provinces.

Glossary and Index of the Pahlavi Texts of the Book of Arda Viraf. By the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.

Haswell's (Rev. J. M.) Grammatical Notes and Vocabulary of the Persian Language. By the Commissioner of British Burmah.

High Court Reports, Vol. II., 3 Parts. By the Government of Bombay.

Do. do. Vol. IV., 3 Parts. Do.

Do. do. Vol. VI., Part III., and Index. Do.

Do. do. Vol. IX., 3 Parts. Do.

Indian Bureaucracy, its Features; or, Secrecy in Officialism, by Javerilál Umiáshankar Yájnik. By the Author.

Journal of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, Vol. V., Part 1, New Series. By the Society.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Parts 1 (with three Plates) and 2 of No. III., and Part 1 of No. IV. of 1874. By the Society.

Do. do. Part 1, No. I. of 1875. Do.

Journal of the East India Association, No. 3, Vol. VII. By the Secretary to the Association.

Map of Bombay. By the Superintendent Government Photozincographic Department, Poona.

Map of Guzerath. By the Superintendent G. T. Survey of India.

Do. the Administration Report of the N.W. Provinces for the year 1873-74. By the Superintendent Government N.W. Provinces.

Do. part of the Viramgaum Taluka of the Ahmedabad Collectorate, with portions of the Lagtar and Limri States. By the Superintendent G. T. Survey of India.

Do. do. do. and Map of Kattywar Survey. By the Superintendent G. T. Survey of India.

Do. Town and British Cantonment of Rajkote. By the Superintendent G. T. Survey of India.

Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, Vols. I. and II. By the Superintendent Geological Survey of India.

Do. do. Vol. XI., Part 1. By the Government of India.

Do. Royal Astronomical Society, Vol. XL., for 1874-75. By the Society.

Memoir on the Tooth-Relic of Ceylon, with a Preliminary Essay on the Life and System of Gautama Buddha. By Dr. J. G. da Cunha. By the Author.

Minutes of the Trustees of the Indian Museum for the year 1873-74. By the Trustees.

Notices of Sanskrit MSS. by Rajendralál Mitra. By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Do. do. Vol. III., Part 2. By the Government of Bombay.

Notes on the Śaka, Saṁvat, and Gupta Eras. By the Author.

Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient. By the Secretary, Orientalische Museum, Vienna.

O Patriota, or the Patriot: a Portuguese and English Periodical; for December 1875. By the Editor.

Poesi e Lettre di Luigi Lezzani. By Dr. J. G. Da Cunha.

Proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Nos. IX. and X., for 1874. By the Society.

Do. do. do. Nos. I.-IV., for 1875.

Proceedings of the Council of the Governor of Bombay for making Laws and Regulations, Vol. XIII. for 1874. By the Government of Bombay.

Do. Parliament of South Australia for 1874, Vols. I.—III. Do.

Do. Royal Institution of Great Britain, Vol. VII., Parts 3 and 4. By the Institution.

Records of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. VIII., Parts 1 and 2, for 1875. By the Government of Bombay.

Reise der Osterreichischen Fregate Novara, 17 vols. By the Emperor of Austria.

Report (Annual) of the Bombay Presidency for the years 1863-64, 1864-65 (with Supplement), 1867-68, 1868-69, and 1869-70. By the Government of Bombay.

Do. do. of the Municipal Commissioner of Bombay for the year 1874. By the Municipal Commissioner.

Do. (General) on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for 1873-74. By the Government of Bombay.

Do. do. on the Operations of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India for 1873-74. By the Government of India.

Do. do. do. By Colonel J. T. Walker, R.E., F.R.S., Superintendent Trigonometrical Survey of India.

Do. do. on the Topographical Surveys of India for 1873-74. By the Government of India.

Report of the Director of Public Instruction for the year 1873-74. By the Director.

Do. of the Schools of the Sir Jamsetji Jejeebhoy Parsee Benevolent Institution for the year 1874. By the Secretary to the Institution.

Do. on Public Instruction in Mysore for 1873-74. By the Chief Commissioner of Mysore, by order of Government of India.

Do. on the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1873-74. By the Government of Madras.

Do. do. of Mysore for 1873-74. By the Commissioner of Mysore.

Do. on the Administration of N.W. Provinces for 1873-74. By the Government of N. W. Provinces.

Report on the Bombay Chamber of Commerce for the year 1873-74. By the Chamber.

Do. on the Census of British Burma taken in August 1872. By the Government of Bombay.

Do. do. of the Bombay Presidency taken on the 21st February 1872, Parts I. and II. Do.

Do. on the Vienna Universal Exhibition of 1873, with Maps and Plans. Do.

Rig-Veda-Sanhita, together with the Commentary of Sayanacharya. Edited by F. Max Müller, M.A. Vol. VI. Do.

Selections from the Records of Government, North-Western Provinces, 2nd Series, Vol. VI., 1874. By Government N.W. Provinces.

Synopsis of the Results of the Operations of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India. Vols. II.—IV. By the Government of India.

The History of India as told by its own Historians.—The Mahomedan Period. By Sir H. M. Elliot, and edited by John Dowson. Vol. V. By Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.

Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. III., Part 1, from October to December 1874. By the Society.

Tukaram's Abhangs, Vol. II. (5 copies.) By the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.

Vocabulary of Dialects spoken in the Nicobar and Andaman Isles. Do.

Do. do. do. By the Government of India.

Do. do. do. Do. through Govt. of Bombay.

Yajadán Prasti and Jarathoshati Dharama. By the Author.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

[July to December 1875.]

A Monthly Meeting of the Society was held on 14th August 1875, the Rev. Dr. Wilson, *Honorary President*, in the chair.

The following gentlemen were elected Members of the Society:—George Larcom, Esq., Assistant Political Agent in charge Janjira State; Rev. Dugald Mackichan; Áánandráo Bháskarji, Esq., Assistant Clerk, Small Cause Court.

Mr. J. Gerson da Cunha read a paper, "Historical and Archæological Sketch of the Island of Angediva."

After mentioning the etymology of the name, and describing the ographical position of the island, the author proceeded with its tory, dividing it into three periods, viz. Puranic, Hindu and Muhamdan, and Portuguese or Modern.

Evidence was adduced to show that this was the island which suggested the mind of Camoens the Floating Island described in the *Lusiad*. n account was given of its fortifications, of the sojourn there of the nglish troops which came out under Marlborough to receive the land of Bombay from the Portuguese, the present condition of the land, and its archæology.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Da Cunha, on the motion of the Rev. Dr. Wilson and the Honourable Mr. J. Gibbs.

Eight Delhi silver coins, presented by the Government, were laid before the meeting, and a description of them by Mr. Rehatsek.

Several books and pamphlets presented to the Society were also laid on the table.

The thanks of the Society were voted to the donors.

A Monthly Meeting of the Society was held on 11th September 1875, the Honourable Ráo Sáheb Vishvanáth Náráyaṇ Maṇḍlik, *Vice-President*, in the chair.

Books and pamphlets presented to the Society since the last meeting were laid before the meeting. A vote of thanks for the same was passed to the donors.

Mr. E. Rehatsek read a paper on the Labours of the Arab Astronomers, and their Instruments, with a description of an Astrolabe in the Mulla Firuz Library.

In this paper Mr. Rehatsek described at considerable length the works of the Arabs in astronomy, and described the astrolabe, which was kindly lent for exhibition by Mr. Khursetjee Rustomjee Cama, and the manner of using it for taking observations.

The Chairman, having previously sent the paper to Professor Keru Lakshuman Chhatre, read a letter from that gentleman on the subject, and proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Rehatsek for his interesting paper.

Mr. Átmárám Páṇḍurang having seconded the proposition, it was carried.

A Meeting of the Society was held on 20th October 1875, the Honourable James Gibbs, *President*, in the chair.

Dr. Andreas gave a sketch of the subjects which he proposes to investigate in Persia.

He said that the main objects in the investigations he proposed pursuing in Persia were, first, the obtaining fuller information as to the history of the Persian race, to gain which a close and detailed study of geographical and ethnological features of Persia were absolutely necessary. He must, to effect his object, study the monuments and inscriptions, which were scattered throughout the country in tolerable profusion.

The method which he proposes to pursue is to investigate the subject of the geographical names of the country, its towns, &c., and to examine into their identity as at present existing with the old names

with which we are familiar through the writers and writings which we possess and which treat either directly or indirectly of Persia. To obtain this information the best course would be to follow the fate of any given city from the time of its foundation, marking the changes in dynasties, names, and localities which affected it throughout its existence. But in Persia this cannot be done; the sources of such information are not forthcoming there,—as indeed in too many other cases; in their absence, of necessity some other course must be adopted, and that will be to ascertain, by means of whatever information may be forthcoming, the geographical identity of each locality; to ascertain whether the old names with which we are familiar are the now disused names of cities still the home of industry and life, or are merely the lettered remembrance of cities that once have been and now have passed away. There is the linguistical proof,—the identity of a name mentioned by some old writer with some name at present current. Having paid particular attention to the study of the nomenclature of the different writers upon Persia and to its history, the learned doctor thought he would in this way be able to derive some valuable results.

Dr. Andreas stated that the great aim of his investigations was to obtain, by the study of the actual geography and ethnography of Persia, a full insight into the history and civilization of the Persian race. It was in harmony with the historical tendency of his investigations that particular care would be bestowed on the study of the monuments and inscriptions.

As for the accomplishment of this object the identification of the names of ancient places was of considerable importance, he shortly pointed out the method by which we can arrive at such identifications, and insisted principally on the necessity of using the severest and most refined method in the linguistical identification of a modern with an ancient name.

With special regard to the geographical nomenclature of Persia, he remarked that the names actually used could easily be traced upwards to the times of the Mongols. Further up there was a break; but nevertheless several instances made him hope that a more complete and careful survey of the country would restore to us a considerable part of the rich catalogue of geographical names given by the Arab geographers,—for instance, the oldest of them, Istakhri, a native of Istakhr.

He then proceeded to specify some of the problems to be solved in the province of Farsistan, the Persis of the ancients. This province had played a very prominent part in the political development of Persia; twice during the course of its history the dominant race had come from it,—the first time as the dynastic race of the Achæmenians, and the second time as the Sassanians.

On the road from Bushire to Shiraz the first things to be noticed were the mound of Rishehr, near Bushire, where cuneiform tablets had been found. One of them tended to show that the empire of the Elamites in Susiana had extended as far south as Bushire; and it would be highly desirable to get more of these tablets. In later times the city was refounded by the first Sassanian, its name being in fact a contraction of Riw-Ardeshir. One of the first battles of the invading Arabs was fought here against Shehrek, the Marzban of Fars, and it was a curious coincidence that the British force landing in 1856 at Bushire had also its first engagement at the mounds of Rishehr. Following the road leading from Bushire to Shiraz, the next place of interest for the historian and antiquarian is the ruins of Shapur, near Kazerun. This town was built by Shapur, son of Ardeshir Babegan; a considerable number of sculptures celebrating his trumph over the Roman emperor Valerian are still extant, as well as an inscription in Pahlavi characters. Some interesting details about the fire-altars established near this place may be found in the Arab geographers.

It is unnecessary to prove the necessity of a more thorough investigation of the remains of Persepolis. If the weather is favourable, excavations in the two large mounds on the Persepolitan terrace will be among the first undertakings. More than fifty years ago the necessity of these excavations was pointed out by Sir Robert Ker Porter, and they will doubtless enable us to give a satisfactory reconstruction of the Old Persian architecture. Besides these the topography of Istakhr should be fully investigated. This was the city to which the Palaces of Persepolis belonged. It defended the entrance of the Valley of the Pulwar, the Koile Persis of the ancient Greek and Roman writers. Istakhri gives very valuable details about the gates, bridges, and castles of Istakhr. According to the opinion of some English engineer officers who were stationed at Shiraz, the mountains near Istakhr require a more exact and complete survey. With regard to the identification of the two rivers flowing near Persepolis with those given by Occidental writers, it ought to be remarked that the commonly adopted identification

of making the Pulwar the ancient Medus, and the river flowing from the north through the valley of Ramjird the Araxes, is wrong. The inverse is the case, as may be seen by the passage of Curtius, who is a much better source than is generally supposed, having copied almost verbatim the work of the celebrated Clitarchus. Ascending higher up in the valley of the Pulwar we arrive at Murgab, the monuments of which are generally identified with Pasargadæ and the tomb of the old Cyrus. Dr. Andreas showed the fallacy of this identification, in pointing out that the figure over which the inscription "I, Cyrus, the king of Achæmenides," is engraved, bears an Egyptian head-dress peculiar to certain Egyptian deities and to the divinized kings of Meroë. But such a head-dress would in no way suit the person of the founder of the Achæmenian dynasty, nor the younger Cyrus who fell at the battle of Cunaxa, and to whom Professor Lassen had referred the figure and the inscription. Dr. Andreas tried to show that there was only one Achæmenide to whom an Egyptian head-dress could be naturally applied. Ctesias tells us that the brother of Xerxes, called by him Achaimenides, was viceroy of Egypt, fell there in a battle against the rebel Inaros, and was brought to Persia to be buried there. Now, Achaimenides cannot have been the proper name of this prince, as it is only a family name corresponding to the Persian Hakhamanisiya of the inscription; and, as no other choice is left us, we may fairly assume that the proper name of this prince was Cyrus, and that he was buried at Murgab. An evident connection seems to exist between the above-mentioned Egyptian head-dress and some hieroglyphic inscriptions, of which the Baron de Bode has seen a rough copy at Ispahan, and after which no subsequent traveller has made inquiries.

Dr. Andreas, passing to the country south of the road from Bushire to Shiraz, remarked that the whole tract of country lying between the roads Bushire-Shiraz-Kerman, the road Kerman-Bunder Abbas and the sea, must be considered as almost totally unsurveyed. Of the two roads which lead from Shiraz to Bunder Abbas, the eastern one had been travelled over in its whole extent only by Pietro della Valle and Dupré. On this road we find to the west of the Derya-i-Niriz, not far from Khir, Tirdeh, the birth-place of the founder of the Sassanian dynasty. The identification of this place, given by the Arab historian Tabari, Dr. Andreas has been able to make, through the surveys of English officers in that part of the country, and embodied in a map not yet published.

Of the greatest importance is Darabjird and the neighbouring country. Here it was that Ardeshir Babegan rebelled against the king of Istakhr, and more than seven hundred years before him the same thing had been, though unsuccessfully, tried by the second false Smerdis, whose real name was Vahyazdata, and whose history we find recorded in the third column of the Behistun inscriptions. This double attempt seems to point to some peculiarity in the relations between the reigning tribes near Persepolis and those in the south-eastern parts of Persia,—a peculiarity most probably resulting from the features of the country. Interesting but uninvestigated remains of ancient cities are to be found near Darabjird; of particular importance are the towns of Forg and Tarun, further south, as we find them already mentioned by Ptolemy, and the inscription of Behistun.

On the western of the two above-mentioned roads is situated the canton of Firuzabad, with considerable remains of antiquities, buildings and sculptures. This town, originally called Gur—probably the Gabra of Ptolemy—was rebuilt by Ardeshir Babegan, who erected three extensive monuments and called the city Ardeshir-Khurreh, "the Splendour of Ardeshir." The actual name, Firuzabad, was given to it by the Buidsultan Azad-ed-daulat after its capture. We know through the Arabic historian Tabari that four large fire-altars had been established there by Mihr Narsi, the grand vizier of the Sassanian king Bahram Gur, for himself and his three sons, who occupied the highest dignities in the Sassanian empire.

Then there was the town of Lar, the geographical position of which had to be ascertained.

On the seashore was the town of Tahrie,—most probably the once celebrated seaport of Siraf. Extensive remains of antiquity, belonging partly to the Muhammadan period, partly to the Sassanian times, are found near this place. The skulls which are still lying in the rock-tombs will offer a highly acceptable material to the ethnologist. For Englishmen there may be a kind of special interest for Siraf, as the story of Whittington and his cat originally referred to a boy from Siraf. Besides these topographical and archæological questions, the hydrography and ethnography of this part of the country require special attention. In the eastern parts the number and geological chains of the mountain ranges, as well as the formation of the intervening valleys, should be ascertained. The central granitic range was crossed by Captain Lovett at Khairabad, and it is most probably connected

with the granite at Kohrud, north from Ispahan. With regard to the western parts, no one has ever tried to cross and study the mountain ranges running parallel to the coast.

Of the hydrography nothing more in fact is ascertained than the mouths of a certain number of rivers flowing into the Gulf, the delineations of their course upwards on our maps being merely fanciful constructions.

As to the ethnography of Southern Farsistan, exact data as to the number and names of the Turkoman tribes should be collected, as this element seemed to become predominant in these regions.

Dr. Andreas then turned to the country north from the road Bushire-Shiraz.

Here the celebrated Kala-i-Sefid offered special interest, as sculptures and inscriptions are said to be found within its walls. It was generally believed to be the Persikai Pulai which Alexander the Great had to force before he could reach Persepolis. Dr. Andreas rather inclined to put these passes more to the east, and more due north from Persepolis, and remarked that the question could only be solved on the spot, having the necessary books at hand. He would further try to fix the site of Taoke, mentioned in the *Periplus* of Nearchus. This town was situated not far from Bushire, to the north, near the mouth of a river called Granis. It was evident that this was the same city known in later times under the name of Tawaj, and that the Granis is the same river called by the Arab geographers Ratin. These data will easily enable any traveller to ascertain the exact locality near one of the small rivers north from Bushire.

Following the coast towards the north we arrive at the old town of Genaweh, where extensive mounds with masses of masonry set in mortar and burnt bricks indicate the site of a city of considerable antiquity.

The hydrography of this tract of country is in a deplorable confusion, and it is impossible to reconcile the statements of the Arab geographers with those which we find embodied in the best of our maps. As the Arabs are generally found to be very exact, it will be necessary to follow their indications in surveying the course of the rivers flowing through this part of the province.

We now arrive at the mountain ranges extending between Media, Susiana, and Persis, and known in ancient times as the Zagros. The

geography of this region has recently made considerable progress through the labours of the German botanist Haussknecht, who has travelled there for several years. The results of his travels are embodied in a map, which is not yet published, but of which Dr. Andreas has obtained a copy. Dr. Haussknecht has for the first time given a more correct and detailed representation of the different mountain ranges which composed the system of the Zagros: so we find, for instance, the Kohi Daina, which on the old maps is given as a single mountain, to be an extensive chain of considerable elevation, in appearance not unlike the Bernese Alps.

To the west of the Kohi Daina, Haussknecht has discovered a considerable tributary of the Karun,—the Khirsan, which flows in a north-westerly direction and joins the Karun to the east of the town of Bors.

The ethnography of these mountainous regions is of considerable interest; many of the Kurdish tribes have resided there for more than a thousand years,—for instance, the Koh Gilvaih, who were already known to the earliest Arab geographers. Specimens of the language of the different tribes should be obtained, in order to find if any idiom other than Kurdish, Arabic, and Turkish is existent there. The discovery of such a language would perhaps be connected with the former occupation of the country by a Turanian race, the Elamites.

It seems further of importance to find out the origin of those families which are distinguished from the other members of the tribes of Luristan by the denomination of Taifeh-i-Kadimeh, the old people.

It appears also that the Dushmen Ziyari, a tribe belonging to the Koh-Gilvaih, possess certain peculiarities which invite a fuller inquiry into their character and origin. As to the archæological monuments of these mountains, almost all of them seem to lie near the valley of the Karun. Near the Koh-i-Gerra, a mountain range north from the Karun, we find a certain number of tombs excavated in the rock; and in the plain of Deshti-i-Gorab, to the north-east of the just-mentioned mountains, the ruins of three cities, called Salm, Tur, and Iredj, are marked in Haussknecht's map.

A general description of the ruins, sculptures, and inscriptions of Mal Amir has already been given by Sir Henry Rawlinson and Mr. Layard, but they evidently require a more complete examination. The remains of Mal Amir and its vicinity belong to two different civilizations—the

older ones to the Elamite, the younger to the Sassanian. These last have been rightly identified with the city of Eidedj. To the north of Mal Amir are the ruins of a large fort called Kala-i-Gilgird. This is the Castle Giligerdon mentioned by Theophylactus Simocatta, which during the reign of the Sassanians was used as a state prison, and was called 'the Castle of Oblivion.' Here the king Kobad, the father of Khosru Anushirvan, was confined by his rebel subjects. The name Giligerdon is very interesting, as it signifies 'city of the Gil,' and evidently refers to the above-mentioned Koh-Gilvaih.

Descending into the plains of Susiana a number of most important ancient sites will be met by the traveller. First of all, Susa, the capital of the Elamite empire, and a residence of the Achæmenian dynasty; then the remains of Gundi Shapur between Dizful and Shuster; Ram-Hormaz in the plains to the south; and Arrajan on the frontier of Khuzistan, with the remains of a bridge from the Sassanian times.

From Susiana Dr. Andreas passed to the third of the three great western provinces of the Persian empire—to Media.

The topography of Ekbatana, nowadays Hamadan, will occupy a prominent place amongst the investigations Dr. Andreas intends to carry on. Dr. Andreas will especially endeavour to find out the site of the palaces of the old Median kings: for, if sufficient funds are available, excavations carried on at Hamadan will undoubtedly throw new light upon one of the obscurest periods of the history of Western Asia. For the history of the Median dynasty we until now can use no other sources than the meagre account and the artificial chronology of Herodotus and Ctesias; if anywhere, the annals of Dejoces and his successors are to be found at Ekbatana.

Turning to the west and visiting on the great road to Bagdad, Kongaver, and Bisutun, we come near the Turkish frontier to Zohab, Holwan, and the banks of the Diala, a district full of remains of past ages. Of particular interest is the ruin at Pai Kuli, not far from the right bank of the river. Here a large bilingual inscription of Ardeshir Babegan has been discovered by Sir Henry Rawlinson. Dr. Andreas said he had examined the fragments copied by Sir Henry, and come to the conclusion that this inscription, when wholly made known, would be of as great a value for the history of the Sassanians as the inscription of Behistun has proved itself to be for the history of the Achæmenian Darius. It contains the deeds and wars of the founder of the new

Persian empire, and is most probably a Persian pendant to the well-known *Monumentum Ancyranum* of Augustus. We even know that Ardeshir composed a book on that subject called the 'Kar Nameh,' *rerum gestarum liber*; and it may be suggested that the inscription of Pai Kuli is either identical with that record of his actions, or forms an epitome of it.

Before leaving Media, Dr. Andreas pointed out the necessity of surveying the triangle between Hamadan, Teheran, and Ispahan, which is a complete blank in our maps. Major St. John had observed, north-west from Ispahan, hills of a conical shape, which would point towards a volcanic origin.

After having finished his investigations in Persia, Dr. Andreas intends to travel through the southern parts of Armenia. It has been proposed by the Academy to investigate the question of the true site of the Armenian capital Tigranocerta. Professor Kiepert, the well-known geographer of Berlin, a few years ago discussed this question in a very elaborate essay, and placed the Armenian city north of the Tigris at Arzen. But Professor Mommsen has shown in a brilliant paper that the city must have been situated south of the Tigris,—probably near the village of Kefr Ioze, visited in 1863 by Mr. Taylor, a place where coins are continually dug up in considerable quantity. Professer Kiepert has now joined the opinion of Mommsen. North-west of the lake Van the plain of Mush will be more specially surveyed. Dr. Andreas concluded by saying that he would return to Europe through the trans-Caucasian provinces of Russia, and make a stay at the Armenian cloister of Etschmiadzin, in order to study the manuscripts of Armenian historians, which are of great importance in the investigation of the geography and history of Persia during the reign of the Sassanians.

A vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Andreas on the motion of Mr. Dhanjibhái Frámji and Rev. J. S. S. Robertson.

A Monthly Meeting of the Society was held on Saturday, 11th December 1875, the Honourable James Gibbs, *President*, in the chair.

Surgeon-General J. G. Inglis, M.D., C.B., and Carlo de Marchesetti, M.D., were elected Members of the Society.

Professor Monier Williams, M.A., D.C.L., Boden Professor of Sanskrit University of Oxford, was elected an Honorary Member of the Society on the proposal of the Honourable James Gibbs, *President*, the Honourable V. N. Maṇḍlik, *Vice-President*, and O. Codrington, *Secretary*.

Read a letter from Sir Bartle Frere, sent with a copy of Dr. Goldstücker's reproduction of the *Mahábháshya* presented by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, and the following Resolution was proposed by the Honourable *President*, seconded by the Honourable V. N. Maṇḍlik, and carried—

"That the respectful thanks of this Society be tendered to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales for the handsome present of the *Mahábháshya* which he has been pleased to make to the Society as a souvenir of H. R. H.'s visit to Bombay."

Several other books and pamphlets presented to the Society were laid before the meeting, and thanks voted to the donors.

The *President*, referring to the recent death of Dr. Wilson, *Honorary President*, said that the first meeting of the Society after the great loss sustained should not be allowed to pass without some expression of their regret. A more formal motion on the subject would be made at the Annual Meeting next month. He therefore proposed the following resolution:—

"This meeting desires to record the very sincere and heartfelt manner in which it feels the death of Dr. Wilson, *Honorary President*."

Seconded by the Honourable Ráo Sáheb V. N. Maṇḍlik, and supported by Mr. Martin Wood, the motion was carried.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

JULY 1ST TO DECEMBER 31ST, 1875.

DA CUNHA, J. GERSON, M.R.C.S. Eng., &c.—Historical and Archæological Notice of the Island of Angediva.

REHATSEK, E., M.C.E.—Labours of the Arab Astronomers, and their Instruments; with a description of an Astrolabe in the Mulla Firuz Library.

ANDREAS, DR.—Sketch of the Subjects which he proposes to Investigate in Persia.

LIST OF PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY.

FROM THE 1ST JULY TO THE 31ST DECEMBER 1875.

Aarboger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, Part III. for 1874. By the Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord à Copenhague.

Abstract of Results of Study of the Genera Geomys and Thomomys, &c., by Dr. E. Cones. By the Author.

Album Litterario Periodico Mensal Directores, Nos. 1 to 4. By A. F. Pereira.

A Pamphlet dedicated to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, by Bowmanji Cursetji Cowasji. By the Author.

Appendix II, Tables required by the Govt. of India to the Report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, for the year 1873-74. By the Director.

Bhágavadgítá translated into English Blank Verse, with Notes, by Kásináth Trimbak Telang, M.A., LL.B. By the Author.

Bibliotheca Indica :—Chaturvarga Chintámaṇi, Vol. II., Fasc. I. By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Sáma Veda Sanhitá, Vols. II., IV., and V. By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Sáma Veda Sanhitá. New Series, Nos. 321 and 322. By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The Agni Puráṇa. New Series, No. 316. By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Bibliotheca Indica :—The Aitareya Aranyaka of the Ṛigveda, with the Commentary of Sáyanácharya, Fasc. I. By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The Akbarnámah. New Series, Nos. 319 and 320. By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The Farhang-i-Rashidi. New Series, Nos. 317 and 318. By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The Mimaṁsa Darśana, with the Commentary of Sávara Swámin. New Series, No. 315. By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Bombay High Court Reports, Vol. XI., Part II. By the Government of Bombay.

Bulletin of the Minnesota Academy of Natural Sciences, with Reports of Committees for 1874. By the Boston Society of Natural History.

Burgess's Archæological Survey of India for 1874, Belgaum and Kaládgi. By the Government of Bombay.

Catalogue of Books printed in the Bombay Presidency during the Quarters ending 30th June and 30th September 1875. By the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.

—— of Sanskrit Manuscripts existing in Oudh, Fasc. VI. By the Director of Public Instruction, Oudh.

Census of the Bombay Presidency, Part III. By the Government of Bombay.

Cosmos, Vol. II. of 1874. By the Publisher.

English and Sanskrit Dictionary, by Monier Williams, M.A. By the Author.

Extracts from an Arabic work relating to Aden. By the Government of Bombay.

Four Lectures delivered in substance to the Brahmos in Bombay and Poona. By the Rev. Nehemiah Goreh. By the Author.

Geological and Natural History Survey of Minnesota for the year 1873. By the India Office.

Hindustani Book of Lectures on Medical Subjects, by Dr. Wyndowe. By the Government of Bombay.

Index to Vol. X. of High Court Reports, 1873. By the Government of Bombay.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part I., No. 2, Part II., No. 1, 1873 ; Part I., No. 3, and Part II., No. 2, 1875. By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

—— of the East India Association, Vol. IX., No. 2. By the East India Association, Bombay.

Málavikágnimitra : a Sanskrit Play by Kálidása ; translated into English Prose by C. H. Tawney, M.A. By C. E. Fox, Esq.

Map of Guzerat, Sheet No. 80, Sections I., III., IX., X.

—— of Kattywar Survey. Degree Sheets Nos. VI., VII., and XXXII.

—— of the Town and British Cantonment of Rájkoṭ.

Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord à Copenhague, Nouvelle Série, 1873-74. By the Society.

Memoirs of the Boston Society of Natural History. Vol. II., Part II., No. 4 ; Part III., No. 1 ; Part III., No. 2. By the Society.

—— of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. I., Part 3. By the Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India.

Minutes of Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Bombay Association for 1873-74. By the Association.

Nyáya Kośa, or Dictionary of the Technical Terms of the Nyáya Philosophy, by Bhímáchárya Jhalakikar. By the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.

Photographs of Ancient Copper Śásanas, viz. (1) Guhasena, (2) Dharasena II., (3) Jayabhaṭa, (4) Dadda II., (5) Govindaráya. By Dr. G. Bühler.

Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Nos. VI. and VII., from June to July 1875. By the Society.

—— of the Boston Society of Natural History, Vol. XV., Parts 3 and 4, and Vol. XII., Parts 1 and 2. By the Society.

Records of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. III., Part 4, and Vol. VIII., Part 3, 1875. By the Director of the Geological Survey of India.

Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for 1872. By the Institution.

—— of the Sassoon Mechanics' Institute for the year 1874-75. By the Institute.

—— of the Archæological Survey of India for 1872-73, Vol. V. By the Government of India.

Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the year 1872. By the Society of Natural History.

—— of the Meteorological Reporter to the Government of Bengal for 1874. By the Government of Bengal.

—— of the Midnapore and Burdwan Cyclone of the 15th and 16th of October 1874, by W. G. Wilson, M.A., L.C.E. By the Government of Bengal.

Report of the Proceedings of the Towers of Silence Land Suit. By the Trustees of the Parsee Pancháyat.

—— on Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1874-75. By Dr. G. Bühler.

—— (Seventy-first) of the British and Foreign Bible Society. By the Bible Society.

—— on the Administration of the Central Provinces for the year 1874-75. By the Chief Commissioner.

—— on the Trade of the Central Provinces for the year 1874-75. By the Chief Commissioner.

—— on Vaccination throughout the Bombay Presidency and Sind for the year 1874-75. By the Government of Bombay.

—— (Monthly) of the Department of Agriculture for the year 1873. By the Boston Society of Natural History.

Reports of Cases decided in the High Court of Bombay, Vol. XI., Part 1, and Part 3 with Index, 1875. By the Government of Bombay.

Śakuntalá, or the Lost Ring: an Indian Drama; by Monier Williams; M.A. By the Author.

Sanskrit Series, No. XIV.:—Vikramânkadevacharita. By the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.

Do. do. do. By Dr. G. Bühler.

Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, Vol. XIX., 1874. By the Smithsonian Institution.

—— Miscellaneous Collections, Vols. XI. and XII., 1874. By the Smithsonian Institution.

Statistical, Descriptive, and Historical Account of the North-Western Provinces of India, Vol. II., Part 1. By the Government of India.

Swágatam, a Sanskrit Poem addressed to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; by a late Student of the Deccan College. By the Author.

Synopsis of the Results of the Operations of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, Vol. V. By the Government of India.

The Dinkard, Vol. I.; by Peshotun Dastúr Behrámji Sanjáná. By the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.

The Konkan: an Historical Sketch; by Alexander Kyd Nairne. By the Author.

The Stitch in Time—not taken: Baroda Affairs in Retrospect; by W. M. Wood. By the Author.

Tillaeg til Aarboger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie for 1873. By the Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord à Copenhague.

University Calendar for the year 1875-76. By the University.

Wright's Arabic Grammar, in two volumes. By the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.

PRESENTS TO THE MUSEUM DURING 1875.

30 Gold and 117 Silver Seals of the late Sátárá State. Presented by the Government.

20 pieces of early Hindu punched coin found in a field in the Sánand Táluká, Ahmadábád.

8 Delhi Rupees found near Vildel. Presented by Government.

56 Buddhistic Coins found at Dhank, Gondal State. Presented by Captain Phillips on behalf of the Gondal State.

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